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HARVARD STUDIES IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 79



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
1975

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CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
AND
LONDON, ENGLAND
1975

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ISBN 0-674-37926-8

MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED
LONDON, BECCLES AND COLCHESTER

480
H26
v.79

PREFATORY NOTE

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology are published by the authority of the President and Fellows of Harvard College on behalf of the Department of the Classics. Publication is assisted by the generosity of the Class of 1856, as well as by other gifts and bequests.

Albert Henrichs
Editor

CONTENTS

OXYRRHYNCHUS AND ROME	1
E. G. Turner	
THE FREQUENCY AND STRUCTURING OF TRADITIONAL FORMULAS IN HESIOD'S <i>Theogony</i>	25
William W. Minton	
<i>Olympian</i> 1.8-11: AN EPINICIAN METAPHOR	55
Frank J. Nisetich	
<i>Birds</i> 593-595: A NOTE	69
David Gill, S.J.	
THUCYDIDES' ETHICS AS REFLECTED IN THE DESCRIPTION OF STASIS (3.82-83)	73
Lowell Edmunds	
TWO DOXOGRAPHICAL NOTES: DEMOCRITUS AND PRODICUS ON RELIGION	93
Albert Henrichs	
PLATO AND TALK OF A WORLD IN FLUX: <i>Timaeus</i> 49a6-50b5	125
Donald J. Zeyl	
TWO CASES OF ΑΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ: <i>Ag.</i> 612 AND THEODORIDAS <i>AP</i> XIII.21	149
Staffan Fogelmark	
AMOR AND CUPID	165
Antonie Wlosok	
LATIN <i>ador</i> , HITTITE <i>hat-</i> AGAIN: ADDENDA TO <i>HSCP</i> 77 (1973) 187-193	181
Calvert Watkins	
THE RECURRENT MOTIFS OF HORACE, <i>Carmina</i> IV	189
David H. Porter	

THE SECOND BOOK OF PROPERTIUS	229
O. Skutsch	
THE <i>Culex</i> AND <i>Moretum</i> AS POST-AUGUSTAN LITERARY PARODIES	235
David O. Ross, Jr.	
THE FRIENDS OF MARTIAL, STATIUS, AND PLINY, AND THE DISPERSAL OF PATRONAGE	265
Peter White	
TWO GHOST-WORDS AND A CONSUL: INSCRIPTIONS OF PERGAMUM AND TARSUS	301
Thomas Drew-Bear	
AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA TO THE SARDIANS	305
Robert J. Penella	
THE HOLDERS OF THE CHAIRS OF RHETORIC AT ATHENS . . .	313
I. Avotins	
CONSTANS AND GRATIAN IN ROME	325
T. D. Barnes	
ON THE HISTORY OF LATIN SCHOLIA	335
J. E. G. Zetzel	
SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D. . .	355

OXYRHYNCHUS AND ROME

E. G. TURNER

Teneros tu suscipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, sinu . . .
Tecum enim longos memini consumere soles
Et tecum primas epulis decerpere noctes.
Unum opus et requiem pariter disponimus ambo
Atque verecunda laxamus seria mensa.

It was your Socratic mantle, Cornutus, that supported my tender years . . . With you I remember devouring long sunny days, and with you savoring dinner in the early hours of night. One timetable we shared alike for work and play, and relaxed from serious topics at our modest board.¹

So wrote the Roman A. Persius Flaccus in the first century after Christ.² These moving lines (their emotion lit by a reminiscence of Callimachus' tribute to his Heraclitus) were addressed to an ex-African slave, L. Annaeus Cornutus. Cornutus nurtured Persius' talent, acted as his literary executor when the poet died young, and was sent into exile by Nero along with Musonius Rufus. His reputation was great — he "wrote many philosophical and rhetorical works," says the *Suda*. His surviving "Short course [ἐπιδρομή] of the traditions of Hellénic theology" does not do much to sustain that reputation. But he was read at Oxyrhynchus, though he himself was born at Leptis in Libya. Oxyrhynchus has produced a hitherto unknown title of a philosophical work written by him — "Book II of the *Hekta*."³ Unfortunately, only the end title of the roll survives; no trace of the

¹ This paper was delivered as a James C. Loeb Classical Lecture at Harvard University on November 29, 1973. I am grateful to Professor Albert Henrichs for vigilance in reading the manuscript and for some suggestions and to Dr. J. R. Rea for a similar service. I wish also to thank the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to utilize unpublished texts which will eventually appear in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

² V 36ff.

³ Κορνουτου | περι | εκτων | β'. On ἐκτόν see Simpl. *In categorias Aristot.* 163.30; 209.10; 212.9f (= *SVF* II 390); and 214.26f Kalbfleisch (= *SVF* II 391). I owe the reference and the elucidation here given to Professor Gérard Verbeke of Louvain. The papyrus is not yet published.

roll itself remained in association with any of that day's finds from the sands. According to Simplicius the Stoics used the terms *ἑξίς* and *ἐκτόν* for concepts in physics, not in ethics. In their view of the physical world, sympathy, *συμπάθεια*, is the binding agent, the *σύνδεσμος*, of things. Things are in a state of *ἑξίς*, a coherence, which is an active principle; *τὰ ἐκτά* are the objects which cohere (the qualities of substances, *ποιότητες*). The word is discussed at length by Simplicius. It was used to cover stationary conditions (*σχέςσεις*), then was extended to motions (*κινήσεις*). It would seem probable that this lost work by Cornutus was one of those important Stoic texts in which the Aristotelian categories were challenged.

The new title of a philosophical book by Cornutus is a specimen of the most important link between Oxyrhynchus and Rome — the link of information. Such is the caprice to which ancient written texts have been subjected that one must go to Oxyrhynchus to obtain information about Rome. A country town about 250 miles up the Nile Valley can offer unexpected evidence about the capital of the Roman Empire, ἡ βασιλὶς or ἡ βασιλεύουσα 'Ρώμη.⁴ The city under the protection of the "sharp-nosed fish" was of course a provincial place: provincial in outlook, in art, in standards of taste and standards of living. Inside its walls the central streets, one about a mile and a quarter long, one about three-quarters of a mile, crossed at an imposing central square and were lined by colonnades, faced with marble in the expensive fashion of the day. Theater, hippodrome, temples, and bath buildings were there as a matter of course.⁵ But the city's main claim to fame is that the written material thrown away by its inhabitants has been preserved. Forty-one

⁴ βασιλὶς: *POsl.* III 77.20 (2d cent. A.D.), *PSI* VIII 965.4 (4/5th cent. A.D.). βασιλεύουσα: *Stud. Pal.* XX 61 ii 3 (3d cent. A.D.), *IGRR* I 1211 (? 3d cent. A.D.).

⁵ In *JEA* 38 (1951) 78-93 I collected the evidence for Oxyrhynchus as a Roman provincial town. By way of supplement it is perhaps worth mentioning the allusions to the city walls in *POsl.* III 111.127; *PSI* III 456.14; the Bahr Yussuf (ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος, *POxy.* XXII 2341) is termed *Τῶμις ποταμὸς* in *POxy.* X 1259.12 and *PGen* inv. 244.30 (= *ZPE* 12 [1973] 75). In contrast the harbor of Satyrus τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ, *POxy.* XVII 2125.16, is probably on the Nile itself (cf. the similar description about Kerke (?) in *PLond.* inv. 2040, *JEA* 56 [1970] 184). The city *πομπή* appears in *POxy.* XVII 2127.6, and its *πομπαγωγός* was first identified by J. Bingen *Cd'E* (1956) 31 (see now new evidence in *POxy.* XLIII 3101.2, 3102.2, notes). *POxy.* XLIII contains new evidence on the gerousia. *POxy.* XXXIV 2707 is a copy of a day's program of events in the hippodrome, which sandwiches entertainment (e.g., "gazelle and hounds") between the charioteers. *POxy.* XXVII 2470 is a picture of a bear and a trapeze acrobat, no doubt figuring in such a program. Dieter Hagedorn in *ZPE* 12 (1972) 277ff has collected and precisely analyzed the evidence for

volumes of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* are in print at this moment of writing (October 1973), containing 3000 numbered literary texts, documents, and fragments. There are at least as many papyri not yet published, smaller and less complete than those already edited, but still holding much latent information. Much has been written (both by others and by me) on the light these texts throw on the Greek classics and the history of the Greeks in Egypt, the way they treasured their heritage, their educational seriousness and continuing intellectual curiosity. Much less attention has been given to what these texts have to say about Rome. In these pages I should like to try to get into focus the information about Rome given by the papyri. I shall not restrict the investigation narrowly to administrative and legal matters, though they will be bound to claim some of our attention. In a study of certain detailed aspects of the link between the two places we may, I hope, be alert to apprehend wider relationships — especially the reactions of Greeks and Romans to each other. We should remember that the Greeks of Egypt were “Egyptians” in Roman eyes — a conception that native Egyptian speakers, the fellahin and the priests, would have rejected out of hand. We should also bear in mind a further complicating ethnic factor: the Jews, outwardly Hellenized, were separate from both the Greek and the Egyptian communities. And perhaps it will not be without interest to see reflected in the microcosm that is Oxyrhynchus social changes taking place in the empire at large.

Let us return to Cornutus. At the same time that he was teaching Persius in Rome, another “philosopher” was summoned from Alexandria to Rome to join in teaching the future emperor Nero, namely the Stoic Chaeremon. One direction taken by Chaeremon’s studies was mystical, suggesting meanings for the Egyptian hieroglyphs (he was a *ἱερογραμματεὺς*). But his philosophical work is spoken of with respect by Eusebius: Origen, we learn, spent his time reading Plato, the Pythagoreans, and the Stoics Chaeremon and Cornutus.⁶ Chaeremon’s role as teacher of a Roman emperor has been overshadowed by that of Seneca. Tacitus nowhere mentions Chaeremon’s name. Yet one wonders whether he and his fellow Greek tutor, Alexander of Aegae, should bear some of the responsibility for imbuing Nero’s young mind with that passion for things Greek that later sent

the stabilization of the titulature of Oxyrhynchus c. A.D. 272 (in *JEA* p. 78 n. 4 I should have emphasized the necessity for the definite article in the formula ἡ λαμπρά καὶ λαμπροτάτη Ὁξύρυγχιτῶν πόλις). New evidence on the *amphoda* is discussed in n. 50 below.

⁶ Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* VI 19.8, quoting Porphyry, *FGrH* 618T8.

him on his artistic tour of Hellas — a scandal to a Roman, but in Greek eyes the best propaganda imaginable for Rome.

The careers of Cornutus and Chaeremon call attention to a little-noticed aspect of the first century of the empire. The victory at Actium decided that Rome, not Alexandria, should be the capital of that empire. The Ptolemaic system perished, and Egypt became a kind of business appendage of the princeps. Alexandrians ceased to be politicians and had their revenge as professors. The late first century before Christ reveals a constellation of philological scholars in Alexandria whose learning we can appreciate through the finds of papyri: Didymus "with guts of brass," Tryphon the elaborator of grammar, Theon the son of Artemidorus, whose commentary on Pindar has turned up at Oxyrhynchus. "After Theon," writes P. M. Fraser,

Alexandrian scholarship moves to Rome, long since familiar with Greek *grammatici*, and enters a new environment in which it soon loses its particular association with Alexandria . . . among those of whose presence we know at or about this time are Aristonicus, the Homeric scholar, and Philoxenus. Subsequently Seleucus, another Alexandrian, taught at the court of Tiberius, and Tryphon's pupil Habron, and Theon's [pupil] Apion, the noted opponent of the Alexandrian Jews, were both active in Rome during the reign of Claudius. At the same time, the first century A.D. is an indigent period for scholarship, as for all aspects of intellectual life, in Alexandria itself.⁷

Most of these names⁸ (with the exception of Seleucus and Habron) turn up in the margins of literary texts from Oxyrhynchus as authorities

⁷ *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I 474. According to the *Suda*, Apion was διάδοχος of Theon, not μαθητής. We do not know the teacher(s) of Apion. The *Suda*'s μαθητής Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀρχιβίου (i.e., Apollonius Sophistes, the author of the extant Homeric lexicon) must be wrong for chronological reasons. This point I owe to Professor Henrichs.

⁸ Didymus: *BKT* I (Demosthenes); *POxy.* XXVI 2442 frs. 39.5, 97.

Tryphon: *Ars Grammatica*, *PLitLond.* 182; *POxy.* XXIV 2396, title on a *sittybos* "On the Spartan Dialect."

Aristonicus: presuming the monogram Ἀρινω' to refer to him and not to Aristophanes of Byzantium, see *POxy.* XXIV 2387, fr. I margin (A.'s exemplar of Alcman); IX 1174, passim (readings in the *Ichneutae*); ? XXVII 2452 fr. 2.16, on a *Theseus* tragedy.

Philoxenus, see n. 27 below.

Seleucus: B. Hemmerdinger *REG* 72 (1959) 107-109 has proposed to identify him as the S. of *POxy.* XVIII 2192.40, but the chronology is against him. Habron, unrecorded.

Theon: Klaus Guhl, *Die Fragmente des alexandrinischen Grammatikers Theon*, Diss. Hamburg 1969.

Apion: *POxy.* XXI 2295, Alcaeus, fr. 28. (There is a characteristically acerbic note on l. 3 by E. Lobel); *POxy.* XXII 2327.

for variant readings or interpretations or are cited in learned commentaries (hypomnemata) on classical texts. These annotations help us to seize on the methods of work of these professors. No doubt they, or most of them, were members of the famous Museum of Alexandria. Aristonicus "the grammarian of our day," as Strabo called him,⁹ wrote a history of it. The emperor Claudius is said to have enlarged it¹⁰ and to have instituted in its rooms an annual reading of his histories of Etruria and of Carthage. References in papyri show that as early as A.D. 38¹¹ its philosopher members (perhaps all its members) enjoyed immunity from taxes — ἀτέλεια. This seems to be an additional privilege to those enjoyed under the Ptolemies, when only free maintenance (σίτησις) is mentioned. The point has relevance to the extension in principle to all *philosophi* of freedom from taxes. If it was Hadrian who finally confirmed the principle, he had a number of predecessors.

In sending forth its scholars, *grammatici*, and then its *philosophi*, Alexandria impoverished its intellectual life. It should be remembered, however, that the class of rhetores — teachers of rhetoric — was conspicuously absent from Alexandria. The absence of rhetorical studies is explicitly remarked by P. M. Fraser.¹² The spirit of inquiry necessary for scholarship or philosophy seems to have been inimical to it. G. W. Bowersock has also called attention to it: "very few native Alexandrians seem to appear in the second Sophistic."¹³ This diagnosis is borne out ad verbum by a private letter from Oxyrhynchus published more than twenty-five years ago by C. H. Roberts,¹⁴ which has not enjoyed the attention it deserves.

It is a letter written in two columns, in a quick skillful handwriting (that of the correspondent himself, since the writing of his final greeting shows the same characteristics). Roberts dated this handwriting to the "late first century after Christ." I should agree with this, with the proviso that for the handwritings of individuals such as this is wider limits of tolerance in dating must be allowed than for professional

⁹ I 38.

¹⁰ Suet. *Claud.* 42.

¹¹ *PRyl.* II 143 A.D. 38, Διδύμω Ἱέρακος Ἀλθαιεὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ σιτουμένων φιλοσόφων ἀτελῶν. Cf. *POxy.* XXVII 2471, c. A.D. 50.

¹² *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I 810.

¹³ G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (1969) 20.

¹⁴ *POxy.* XVIII 2190. A few "corrections" are suggested in *Berichtigungsliste* IV, but I know of no published discussion. Roberts has himself effectively quoted the letter in *The Legacy of Egypt*, (2d ed., p. 376). I have studied the original.

scribal hands. With this reservation I should suppose the reign of Vespasian or Domitian a good allocation for this letter.¹⁵ Its first column, which principally interests us, has a piece torn away from its left-hand side, and the surface of the rest is rubbed.

The letter was written by Neilus to his father, Theon. The writer is a student in an unnamed town, which must in fact be Alexandria.¹⁶ He speaks of listening to lectures given by the ἐπιδεικνύμενοι (l. 35), and makes remarks about his lodgings and his supplies of food brought from home (oil [?], lentils, sour wine, salt meat, loaves — they are reminiscent of the traditional Scottish student and his meal sack). He has been involved in some incident in the theater (a “demo,” ll. 4, 46), and a traveling carriage (ἄρματα, l. 10) has also been smashed. The body of the letter is concerned with the search for a teacher, a point on which he has been consulted by his father. I give Roberts’s text, followed by his translation.

Col. i.

- [? Νεῖλος Θ]έωνι τῷ κυρίῳ πατρὶ
 [πλεῖστα] χαίρειν.
 [τῆς μὲν παρούσ]ης ἀθυμίας ἀπήλλαξας ἡμᾶς δηλώσας ὡς
 [ἐστὶ σοι ἀδιὰ]φορα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου.
 5 [ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν φ]θάσας καταπλευσαι τυχεῖν λαμπρῶν
 [..... ἀξιο]ν τι τῆς προθυμίας ἔπρα[ξ]α. νῦν
 [γὰρ ἐπιζητῶ]ν Φιλόλογον καὶ Χαιρήμονα τὸν καθη-
 [γητὴν καὶ Διδ]υμον τὸν τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέ[ους] παρ’ οἷς
 [ἐλπίς ἦν καὶ ἐμ]έ τι κατορθῶσαι, οὐκέτι ἐν τῇ πόλει
 10 [εὖρον ἀλλὰ τ]ὰ ἄρματα {παρ’} οἷς τῇ εὐθείᾳ ὁδῷ χρῆ
 [ἀνελθεῖν πρόχθ]ες διεφθορόσι <ὡς> καὶ πρότερόν σοι ἔγρα-
 [ψα] ἔγραψα τοῖς περὶ Φιλόξενον ἐπι-
 [τρεπτέον τὸ πρᾶ]γμα καὶ ὑπ’ ἐκείνων τῷ εὐδοκιμοῦν-
 [τι ὥστ’ ἐ]μὲ παραιτησάμενον Θέωνα εὐθὺς
 15 [καθηγητοῦ τυγχάνε]ιν κ[α]ὶ τὸς κατεγνωκῶς αὐτοῦ
 [..... ὡς ἀμ]ελῶς ἔ[χ]οντος τὴν ἔξιν. μεταδόν-
 [τος δέ μου Φι]λοξένῳ τὴν σὴν γνώμην τὰ αὐτὰ μὲν
 [ἐπὶ]ναι . . . αὐτὴν μόνην τὴν τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀ-
 πορ[ίαν] ἐν συνπαθεῖν τῇ π[ό]λει φάσκων, καταπλε[ύ]σον-
 20 τα δὲ τὸν Δί[δυ]δμον, ὡς ἐ[ο]ικεν, φίλον ὄντα αὐτῷ καὶ

¹⁵ Some examples for comparison: PPrinceton inv. 7741, A.D. 53 (JEA [1937] 76), more rounded; POxy. XXVII 2471, c. A.D. 50, more decorated; PLond. 140 (Atlas II 144), Vespasian; PRyl. II 95, A.D. 71–72; II 161, A.D. 81; POxy. II 286 (= PLond. 797, A.D. 82); POxy. I 94 (= PLond. 753, A.D. 83).

¹⁶ The decisive argument is the contrast drawn in l. 29 between this town and the *chora* of Egypt.

- σχολὴν ἔχοντα, ἔλεγεν ἐπιμελήσεσθαι τῶν ἄλ-
λων μᾶλλον· καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ {του} Ἡρώ-
δου παραβαλε[ίν] ἔπειθεν αὐτῶν· καὶ τοὶ γὰρ με[τ]ὰ τοῦ-
του δεξ[ι]ώτερον καθηγητὴν ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἐπιζητ[ο]ῦ-
25 σ[ι]ν ἀπαθανόντος Φιλολόγου ὧι παρέβαλλον· ἐν-
ξάμενο[ς] δ' ἂν ἔγωγε εἶπερ ἀξίους λόγου καθηγητὰς
εὔρον μηδὲ ἐξ ἀπόπτου Δίδυμον ἰδεῖν, τοῦτο αὖ-
τὸ ἀθυμῶ ὅτι ἔδοξεν εἰς σύγκρισιν τοῖς ἄλλο[ις]
ἔρχεσθαι οὗτος ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καθηγεῖτο.

25 l. ἀπαθανόντος

Col. ii.

- 30 τοῦτο οὖν εἰδὼς ὅτι πλὴν τοῦ μάτην μισθοὺς πλείονας
τελεῖν ἀπὸ καθηγητοῦ οὐδὲν ὄφελος, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ
ἔχω. τάχως ὃ τι ἐάν σοι δοκῇ γράψον. ἔχω δὲ
τὸν Δίδυμον, ὡς καὶ Φιλόξενος λέγει, αἰεὶ μοι προ[ο]ξεν-
καιροῦνται καὶ πᾶν ὅτι δύναται παρεχόμενον. [ἔτι δέ]
35 τῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένων ἀκροώμενος ὧν ἐστὶν ὁ Πο-
σειδώνιος τάχα θεῶν θελόντων καλῶς πράξομαι.

You have released me from my present despondency by making it plain that the business about the theater was a matter of indifference to you. For my part, I've lost no time in sailing down-stream to find distinguished [teachers]¹⁷ and have achieved something that repaid my eagerness. I was looking for¹⁸ Philologus and Chaeremon the teacher (καθηγητής) and Didymus the son of Aristocles, as I thought that with them I too might still meet with success, but found them no longer in the city, and the chariots¹⁹ in which the direct journey [up] to them has

¹⁷ J. Zuisderduijn (*BL* IV s.v.) suggests the supplement [σοφιστῶν]. But the restoration of the whole sentence is fragile. It is contradictory both of (restored) ἀνελθεῖν of l. 11 and of sense that Neilus should sail downstream from Alexandria to some important center in search of tutors, and his claim to have succeeded is intelligible only if understood ironically.]θασας might of course be restored ἐφ]θασας (e.g., [καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐφ]θασας, continuing the first sentence, perhaps even to ἐπρα[ξ]α<ς>, l. 6). A further difficulty is that a trace of ink is visible before]ν τι (C. H. R.) in l. 6, and it looks like part of ν, not ο, so that Roberts's restoration ἄξιον is excluded.

¹⁸ At l. 7 I should prefer to restore [γὰρ τοὺς περ]ι. In l. 12 we have τοῖς περὶ Φιλόξενον mentioned first, Philoxenus himself only later. In any case Philologus himself is dead (ll. 7, 25).

¹⁹ Candace's eunuch was traveling in a ἄρμα, *Acts* viii 28ff. The plural form here may be affected by Homeric reminiscence and have a singular meaning. διεφθόροσι I take to be third plural perfect indicative, with ο for α in the unaccented syllable.

to be made were smashed, as I have already written you, the day before yesterday I have written to Philoxenus and his friends,²⁰ telling them that they, too, must leave the matter in the hands of the esteemed [N.N.], so that I, after rejecting Theon, may find a teacher as soon as possible, for I myself formed a bad opinion of him . . . for being so careless a character.²¹ When I informed Philoxenus of your opinion he agreed, saying that just in this shortage of professors . . . was in the same condition as the city.²² But he said that Didymus, who, it appears, is a friend of his and has time to spare, had sailed down²³ and would take more care than the others; he's also persuaded the sons of Apollonius son of Herodes²⁴ to go to Didymus. For they too, together with Philoxenus, have been looking until now for a cleverer teacher since Philologus, to whom they used to go, has died. As for myself, if only I had found some decent teachers, I would pray never to set eyes on Didymus, even from a distance — what makes me despair is that this fellow who used to be a mere provincial teacher sees fit to compete with the rest. However, knowing as I do that apart from paying useless and excessive fees, there is no good to be had from a teacher, I'm depending on myself.²⁵ If you've any opinions on the matter, write to me soon. As Philoxenus also says, I've got Didymus always ready to spend his time on me and doing everything in his power. Moreover, with any luck, I shall do well for myself by hearing the lecturers, of whom Posidonius is one.

²⁰ Meaning and restoration of these lines are particularly uncertain and need longer discussion than is opportune here. The repeated *ἔγραψα* in ll. 11/12 and 12 is also disturbing. The second (l. 12) may be a slip of the pen for *ἔγραψα<ς>*: "you wrote that I was to submit the matter to Philoxenus and his circle" (restoring *ἐπιτρέπειν*, l. 13). The restoration of ll. 16/17 supports this view.

²¹ Aristotle's, not Cornutus', use of *ἔξις*.

²² C. H. Roberts: "We must suppose that *α]ντήν* either refers to or is part of the name of a place which is the subject of *συγγραφεῖν* and is compared with *τῇ πόλει* (Alexandria)." But may we not supply a preposition, e.g., *διὰ*, and translate "saying that just because of this shortage of professors alone he felt a fellow feeling for Alexandria"? The word *συμπαθέω* is in wide use in the later *koine*, cf. Bauer *Lex.N.T.* ad loc. and *N.T.* Hebrews 4.15, 10.34. M. David has supposed the word is not correctly read and has conjectured *συνελθεῖν*, which will not do as a reading. Before the *θ*, *α* is more probable than *λ*; it is preceded by two verticals which are very like *π*, and do not admit of *ε* — i.e., *παθειν* seems to me reasonably secure, and the preceding traces (feet only of letters) look acceptable as *συν*.

²³ Aorist participle *καταπλε[ύσα]ν|τα* restored by Van Groningen.

²⁴ Both definitive articles should be retained, cf. l. 8, *τὸν τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέους*.

²⁵ In *Legacy of Egypt* Roberts translates *ἄλλα . . . ἔχω*, "I've other resources of my own." It is tempting to make the sentence continue to *γράφον*. Strictly that would involve translating "knowing as you do," which does not chime in with the correspondent's earlier account. But his syntax is probably loosely framed.

The writer then turns to financial matters, the bad behaviour of his *paedagogus* Heraclas and so on.

The teachers spoken of by Neilos in this letter have names that can be matched in the annals of scholarship — Chaeremon the professor,²⁶ more than one Didymus, Philoxenus, even Posidonius. The letter writer does not think very highly of them — but then the young do not usually praise their professors. However, for two reasons it is impossible to do more than hint at the possibility of identification with some of these known names (e.g., with Philoxenus).²⁷ The date of the letter, if the period of Domitian is right, is too late for the famous Chaeremon and perhaps for the rest also. Secondly, only one of them (Didymus, son of Aristocles) is given a patronymic, so that no suggested identification can be clinched, and the names are not unique in Graeco-Roman Egypt.²⁸ Nevertheless, Philoxenus' avowal in this letter of τὴν τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀπορίαν is interesting contemporary testimony.²⁹ σοφιστής in such a context means of course a "teacher of rhetoric," not a γραμματικός. The "grammatical" tradition of Alexandria continued to be hostile to rhetoric.

Alexandria, as this letter shows, is the town to which inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus resorted for their higher education, and through which they learned of countries outside Egypt. Alexandrians traveled to Rome,

²⁶ *OGI* 408, A.D. 150, is warrant for giving to καθηγητής an institutionalized meaning = "holder of a chair." Modern Greek uses the word in this sense.

²⁷ For Chaeremon, see n. 6 above. Several *grammatici* of Alexandria, pupils of the famous Chalcenterus, bear the name Didymus (cf. *PW* s.v., and add the "member of the Museum" of A.D. 38 mentioned in *PRyl.* II 143 [n. 11 above]). The *Suda* testifies to a Philoxenus who made a name in the study of language, and also ἐσοφίστευσεν ἐν Ρώμῃ. On him see now the note of Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II 690. All that is certain of his date is that he is earlier than Herodian, who quotes him. R. Reitzenstein argued that he lived in the first century before Christ, and claimed to detect his influence on Varro, and this suggestion has been frequently accepted. Note that a Claudius Philoxenus, priest, soldier, and administrator and also Member of the Museum in A.D. 135, figures in *BGU* I 73. The name Philologus was borne by a freedman of Q. Cicero (Plut. *Cic.* 48.2, 49.2-4). Apion's father's name is given as Posidonius by Africanus (*FGrH* 616 15d).

²⁸ A rough idea of the frequency of occurrence of these names among the upper Hellenized classes can be obtained from a scrutiny of the lists of strategoi and royal scribes.

	1st cent.	2d cent.	3d cent.
Didymus	2	4	10
Philoxenus	2	2	1
Chaeremon	1	2	0

²⁹ Cf. nn. 7, 12, 13, above.

where, as has been seen, many of them settled. But some returned to their native city. However, Alexandria is not only the physical link between the provincial town of Oxyrhynchus and Rome, it is also the political link. As already stated, in Roman law the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus, were they never so educated and Hellenized, were only "Egyptians," not Greek citizens. If they obtained Roman citizenship, it was an essential preliminary that they should also be given the citizenship of Alexandria — as Trajan had to bestow it on Pliny's doctor Harpocras. And the Alexandrian citizenship was itself hedged about with restrictions. It did not automatically descend to the children of a marriage if a woman citizen (ἄστυ) married into a forbidden category. This inference from the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* has recently been given new support by a penetrating correction made by Z. Borkowski of a Berlin papyrus:³⁰ according to this correction it is stated of a Roman citizen that he belongs to the "deme of his maternal grandfather Ammonius, of the Sosicosmean tribe and Althaeian deme": that is, his mother and her father (and mother) were Alexandrian citizens, his own father was not.

Now Alexandrian citizens of course found their way to Oxyrhynchus. Horst Braunert has an interesting chapter in his book on social mobility in which he tries to assess their numbers. The kind of luster they must have shed in Oxyrhynchus appears clearly in a division of property to be published as *POxy.* XLIV 3197 by J. D. Thomas. It is a prominent Alexandrian (with Oxyrhynchite connections) whose household is there divided up; more than a hundred slaves with duties of a personal nature are included in the division. Persons of this style of life were especially interested in things Roman. In particular, they eagerly circulated a form of pamphleteering literature set out in the form of contemporary minute writing about meetings and confrontations between Alexandrian citizens and Roman emperors. Whether the accounts in these so-called "Acts of the Alexandrians" are trustworthy as history or not — and I am inclined to think they are — they show an intimate familiarity with Rome. Texts of this literature from Oxyrhynchus (its most prolific source) carry references to the topography of Rome, its gardens, the Palatine library, etc. In volume XLII 3020 P. J. Parsons is to publish the record of a hitherto unknown embassy

³⁰ *BGU* XI 2060.10. Borkowski, who is to publish this correction, interprets *Ἀμμωνίου* not as proper name but simply as descriptive of the person just named "belonging to the deme of his maternal grandfather Ammonius" and supports it by another Berlin papyrus which he corrects. The point has implications for the position of Alexandrian Jewry under Claudius.

to Augustus in the years 10/9 B.C. The princeps was traveling in Gaul, and the ambassadors followed him there. The papyrus copy, like that of an embassy of A.D. 12,³¹ is almost contemporary. The exegete, opening the speeches on behalf of Alexandria, addressed him as "Caesar, unconquered hero." Unfortunately the papyrus breaks off before we can learn Augustus' reaction to this address. No doubt it would have resembled that of Claudius (*PLondon* 1912) or that of Nero in a newly published Milan papyrus.³²

A number of texts have survived from the beginning of Roman rule in Egypt that show residents in Oxyrhynchus learning the Latin language and reading Latin literature. One large sheet of papyrus is a calligraphic exercise in which two lines of Virgil have been repeated in a bold, large capital of the early first century after Christ.

Scilicet ut Turno contingat regia coniunx
Nos animae viles, inhumata infletaque turba.³³

This is not a schoolboy's exercise but that of a professional scribe who expects to be writing Latin texts. It is perhaps in the sour tradition of Greek raillery that passages derogatory to women are chosen for such copybook exercises (like the line from Hawara "non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisā Lacaeni").³⁴

When we look in R. A. Pack's list to see what kinds of texts were copied in Oxyrhynchus, we note that historical fragments seem especially to have aroused interest. One, *POxy.* I 30, on the Macedonian wars of Rome, has been plausibly estimated by Jean Mallon to be the oldest surviving fragment of a parchment codex in Latin, perhaps to be assigned to about A.D. 100. Another fragment of the second century concerns the constitution of Servius Tullius; there are several pieces of Sallust's histories, one as early as the late second century (*PRyl.* III 473). To the third century belongs the well-known epitome of

³¹ *POxy.* XXV 2435.

³² Letter of Nero to the 6475 men of the Arsinoite nome published by O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 5ff; cf. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia* pl. 42. The text should be read as follows, not as given by the editors: τὸν τε ναὸν μου [σου, Pap.] παρητησάμην δειὰ τὸ θεοῖς μόνοις ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν ὑπ' ἀν[θ]ρ[ώ]πων δεικαίως ἀπονέ[με]σθαι καὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν στέ[φαν]ον <ὄν> ἐπέμψατε χαριστή[ριον], μὴ βουλόμενος ἐν ἀρ[χ]ῇ τ[ῆς] ἡγεμονίας ἐπειβαρεῖν ὑμᾶς. The emperor is not writing of a gift he is offering to the 6475 men but making a *deprecatio* in the well-known imperial formula. Evidence about the payment of the crown tax in Roman Egypt is collected and discussed by A. K. Bowman, *BASP* 4 (1967) 59ff, but he does not touch on the gift of actual crowns.

³³ Drances, *Aen.* xi 371-372. The text is unpublished.

³⁴ *Aen.* ii 601; Sterling Dow, *JRS* 58 (1968) 60ff with plates.

Livy (*POxy.* IV 668 and *PSI* XII 1291). In view of the Cicero, Juvenal, and Terence manuscripts from Egypt it is disappointing that no copy of Tacitus has yet been found there; since we do have more than one specimen of Sallust's *Histories*, I confidently expect this gap to be filled.

A Latin letter from Oxyrhynchus of early date and some human interest has been published by Virginia Brown.

Suneros Chio suo plur. sal. s. v. b. Theo adduxsit ad me Ohapim regium mensularium Oxysrychitem qui quidem mecum est locutus de inprobitate Epaphraes. itaque nihil ultra loquor quam ne patiarus te propter illos perire. crede mihi nimia bonitas pernicies hominibus est vel maxsuma. deinde ipse tibi demonstrabit quit rei sit qum illum ad te vocareis. set perservera. qui de tam pusilla summa tam magnum lucrum facit dominum occidere uult. Etc.

Addressed on the back: Chio Caesaris³⁵

The most natural explanation of the address Chio Caesaris is that the letter is addressed to a slave attached to the service of the Emperor Augustus. His interview with the "royal" banker of the Oxyrhynchite district (i.e., the public banker), the talk of the dishonesty of Epaphras and of the great profits realizable from small sums suggests an atmosphere of investment and business management, whether Chios is acting on the emperor's behalf or is simply on the make on his own account.

Another early text must also be the work of an immigrant from Italy.³⁶ Dated to A.D. 10/11 it is a receipt in the Greek language written in Latin characters and a useful pointer to the current pronunciation of both languages. John Rea, its editor, found it hard to convince himself that unfamiliarity with the Greek alphabet was a sufficient explanation of this text, and looked for something more recondite. But the reason is probably quite straightforward — the writer could manage the Latin alphabet, not the Greek. Rea himself enumerates a number of other cases of this phenomenon. What is unusual about the example found at Oxyrhynchus is that Latin should be the more familiar language. The opposite would have been expected, and that opposite phenomenon can very occasionally be detected. For instance a Roman citizen in Hadrian's time had to make his will in Latin. But Tiberius Claudius Alexander, freedman, whose draft will is preserved in another papyrus³⁷

³⁵ *BICS* 17 (1970) 137ff with plate. The original orthography is reproduced.

³⁶ *POxy.* XXXVI 2772: "Iulios Lepos Archibio collybiste chaerein. poeson moe para Arpochrationi collybiste argyriu drachmas chillas [h]enacosias pentaconta [treis] g(inontae) dr mcmliii etos xl Caesaros Pachon iii."

³⁷ *POxy.* XXXVIII 2857.

written in both Greek and Latin, clearly gave his instructions in Greek, so that (as J. Crook notes) the Greek version was in practical terms the prior version, and then had them translated into Latin by a notary. "I have read my will, in consonance with which I wished my Roman will to be written."

The Latin texts from the first decades of the Roman occupation show that at quite low political and social levels there were Romans on the make in Oxyrhynchus.³⁸ Among the small men whose influence can be traced in case histories special mention is to be made of veteran soldiers. In a loan of 102 drachmas made at the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus in 6/5 B.C.³⁹ the creditor is Gaius Iulius Carus, ἱππεὺς ἀπολελυμένος, the earliest known Roman veteran in Egypt as the editor claims. His cognomen Carus is Italian, and he "may have owed his citizenship and his enlistment to the great Iulius or to the emperor Augustus." We know of another who registered his property in a Latin declaration made at Oxyrhynchus in the time of Claudius.⁴⁰ The Roman citizenship was given him and his sons in A.D. 45, and the property included two shared houses in Oxyrhynchus. The record of a third veteran at Oxyrhynchus, Lucius Pompeius Niger, between the years A.D. 31 and 62 has been traced by J. F. Gilliam.⁴¹ He seems to have been born of an Egyptian father, Syrus, and was still serving in the legio XXII Deiotariana in A.D. 31 — a year in which he also made a loan to a civilian. He also owned a quarter of a house in Oxyrhynchus in which he lived when resident there; one would suppose his main address was elsewhere. Of other veterans it is recorded that they purchased farms for themselves — εἰς κολωνεῖαν. In Egypt this term does not mean a settlement of a whole body of troops on land sequestrated for them.⁴² As men with

³⁸ Another early Latin document from Egypt (exact provenance unknown) belonging to this same context of exploitation is *PMed.* inv. 68.87, illustrated and transcribed in Montevicchi, *Papirologia*, pl. 34, from which alone I know it (it is to be published by S. Daris). It is an acknowledgement dated 30 August A.D. 7, first in Greek addressed to one Diogenides (who has an Alexandrian demotic) by Rufio, slave of C. Vibidius, that a mislaid chit for a loan of 120 drachmas made to a fellow slave (σύνδουλος) is canceled, followed by an endorsement in Latin presumably written by Rufio himself to the same effect. Diogenides is presumably manager of the household for C. Vibidius. The transaction itself postulates a situation not unlike that of the parable of the unforgiving servant in Matthew 18.23ff, especially 31, ἰδόντες οὖν οἱ σύνδουλοι . . . ἐλθόντες διεσάφησαν τῷ κυρίῳ ἐαυτῶν πάντα τὰ γενόμενα.

³⁹ *PYale* 60.

⁴⁰ *PSI XI* 1183.

⁴¹ *BASP* 8 (1971) 39ff.

⁴² J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine de l'Égypte*, pp. 328ff; *POxy.* XII 1508.5-6; N. Lewis, *TAPA* 90 (1959) 143.

ready cash which they were willing to lend through the public banks, as property owners, as successful farmers, and above all as hardheaded individuals, cut out to be men of standing in their community, veterans must have exercised an influence out of all proportion to their relatively small numbers. We know that some of the imposing Latin documents from Oxyrhynchus — such as the one recording the sale of a slave by Barsimis Bassus, recently edited by G. M. Browne⁴³ — related to soldiers' property.

Slaves, businessmen, entrepreneurs, and veterans were in their exploitation only following the lead of the princeps himself, who was perfectly aware that the wealth of Egypt was the essential economic basis of an apparently relaxed political control in Rome. Augustus did not tell a formal untruth in his profession *Aegyptum imperio populi Romani adieci*. The Egyptian corn collected from rents of public land and taxes in kind was distributed to the population of Rome (and perhaps of other cities, as will be seen); the money revenues were laid out, among other things, on the beautification of the capital. But the exploitation of Egyptian resources was kept tightly in the princeps' hands, not permitted to the normal public organs or to the Senate; Egypt itself was not administered by a senator, but by a knight in the new role of prefect and commander-in-chief of its legions. One small item of this control is illustrated by a new text in which a high official gives orders to the Procurator Phari to stop a certain person's exit from Egypt.⁴⁴

⁴³ POxy. XLI 2951.

⁴⁴ POxy. XLIII 3118, 3d cent. A.D., confirming POxy. X 1271 (= ChLA IV 266), Strabo ii 101, and Gnomon Idios Logos §68.

A separate study would be needed to follow up the hints of low-level exploitation here thrown out, or to discuss the modalities of exploitation at a higher level. Exploitation has, for instance, been claimed as the direct cause of a serious economic crisis under Claudius and Nero. Such was the thesis of H. I. Bell (JRS 28 [1938] 1ff), accepted by G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Iulius Alexander* (1964) 53ff. In his remarkable book on social mobility and freedom of movement inside Egypt (*Die Binnenwanderung* [1965] 280), H. Braunert has sought one cause of this depression in the unprincipled management by absentee landlords of the great estates granted to the princeps' relations and friends (list of them in M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*² 669 n. 45; A. Tomsin, "Notes sur les usages de l'époque romaine," *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* [1957] II 211, and "Les continuités historiques," *Actes X Congr. Intern. Papyrol.* [1961] 81ff). G. M. Browne (PMich. 594, *American Studies in Papyrology* VI 64ff) is inclined rather to trace it back to natural causes (a disastrously high Nile in A.D. 45). Cf. D. Bonneau, *Le Fisc et le Nil* (n.d. [1973]) 162ff. Browne's evidence makes it difficult to follow J. F. Oates (*Essays in Honour of C. Bradford Welles* [1966] 90) in discounting the existence of an economic crisis.

It may be, as has been previously suggested, that an exit permit issued by the prefect was required in order to leave Egypt.

It will not be possible in this paper to examine in detail the progress of Romanization in Oxyrhynchus. I must concentrate on one aspect of corporate life — its public authorities. Until A.D. 200 Oxyrhynchus was without self-government. It remained under the Ptolemies and Romans what it had been under the Pharaohs, no more than the chief town (*metropolis*) of its district (*nome*), directly administered by a Royal Scribe, over whom was later placed a strategus. But with the coming of the Greeks it had developed some communal institutions. Its gymnasium was organized so as to contain all the families of Hellenized inhabitants. In about A.D. 4/5 they were entered on a special register. Though these Greeks were "Egyptians" in terms of Roman law, in practice they had a privileged status, for they paid a lower rate of poll tax than the poorer fellahin and also enjoyed the amenities of gymnasial membership. This offered not merely the pleasures of a club, namely opportunities for physical exercise, baths, and libraries, but also eligibility for local office, as well as the chance to enter the lower ranks of the Roman provincial civil service as strategus or Royal Scribe in a different district from a man's hometown. Not only did the town house the district organs of the provincial service; the town itself came to have a corporate legal personality as a "city." A letter from a prefect under Hadrian is addressed to "the city of the Oxyrhynchites," and is perhaps the earliest instance of this title.⁴⁵ A text of the time of Antoninus Pius⁴⁶ shows a rudimentary communal organization in being. A decree in honor of a generous gymnasiarch is passed by "the officers [*ἄρχοντες*] and people [*δῆμος*] of the city and the resident Romans and Alexandrians." In the later years of this century, papyri in increasing numbers reveal an informal committee of the officers (*κοινὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων*). When Septimius Severus visited Egypt in A.D. 200 he gave Alexandria a city council; and one is found in Oxyrhynchus itself and in other metropolitan towns within a few years. It is therefore a reasonable inference that Severus established a town council in each of the district metropoleis.

The day-to-day working of the town Council of Oxyrhynchus has been submitted to a severely factual examination in a recent book by

⁴⁵ *POxy.* XLIII 3088.7-8, A.D. 128, ἡ τῶν Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλις. This terminology, in which the place is named after its citizens and not after its sacred fish (Ὀξυρυγχων πόλις), is used from now on whenever emphasis is placed on municipal character.

⁴⁶ Wilcken *Chr.* 33; *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* no. 69.

A. K. Bowman.⁴⁷ Building on his results we may ask whether its introduction represented an act of generosity or a hardheaded political manoeuvre. Untempered altruism is a motive conspicuously absent from the history of Roman imperial policy; a desire to install a uniform pattern throughout the East is probably an equally inadequate motivation. What the introduction of a system of town council administration did achieve was the extension to all members of that council of the principle of corporate responsibility. The main tasks of these members were the supervision of finance and the selection of officers for burdensome, unpaid duties (liturgical service). Some of these burdens, certainly, were transferred from the villages to the metropolis. Elsewhere I have argued that the centralized village administration was beginning to break down at the end of the second century.⁴⁸ What, to sum up, could theoretically be regarded as the restoration to Alexandria of full city rights, and the grant of such rights to communities that had never enjoyed them, led in practice to something quite different — the impoverishment of that Hellenized middle class which stood between the fellahin and their Roman superiors. It was onto their backs that the burden of both administrative effort and financial responsibility had been shifted.

But in A.D. 200 this burden lay in the future. And one alleviation of it, at least later in the century, has only been revealed in 1972. In *POxy* XL Rea has collected and edited with consummate skill an archive⁴⁹ of texts that shows that in the years A.D. 268–272 a monthly ration of corn was issued to at least 4000 households in the town. These may not be the years in which the system was introduced at Oxyrhynchus. To this point we will return. The documents in this archive are of three main kinds: first, applications to receive the corn ration (2892–2923); second, items of official correspondence and memoranda; third, registers that set out the names of beneficiaries and dates of corn issues.

In spite of the survival of a formulary (2927), the applications are far from standardized. Petitioners normally give their name and age, state that they are “scrutinized” persons (ἐπικριθέντες — the technical word implies admission to a special social status), scrutinized or regis-

⁴⁷ *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (1971).

⁴⁸ *GRBS* Supp. 6 pp. 46–47.

⁴⁹ Rea’s publication has made it possible to identify two further texts which very probably come from this archive. *PStrasb.* 536, 1357a, and b, are parts, much damaged, of applications to participate in [τῆς τοῦ σιτηρῆς]ίου δόσεως, 1357a.1–2, cf. 13. D. Hagedorn (*ZPE*) 12 [1973] 284 n. 27; 14 [1974] 300 and J. D. Thomas (*Gnomon*) [1974] 723 have also independently made the same observation, and reconstituted the text of the Strasbourg fragments.

tered in a particular region ἀμφόδον⁵⁰ of Oxyrhynchus, and usually go on to give particular grounds of eligibility. An endorsement is added by a witness to identity and by the phylarch (the officer at the head of each tribe) that the facts are as stated and that the applicant has answered to his name at a roll call and there has therefore been no impersonation. Special grounds put forward may be of various kinds. A common justification is that the applicant is an Oxyrhynchite and a citizen — and one person adds “locally born.”⁵¹ Some of the applications are

⁵⁰ It is not known how many “regions” (*amphoda*) constituted a tribe. Rea (by implication) suggests that the figure is at least 2 (XL 7). He argues thus from the title of an ex-phylarch in 2930.2–3, γενόμε[νος φυλάρχης] φυλῆς Δρόμου Θοήριδος καὶ Λυκίων (παρεμβολῆς ?)], and suggests that the 12 specified *amphoda* that recur three times in the headings of 2928 and 2929 stand for all the regions. “Since the number of *amphoda* named in the papyri is more than twice that . . . , some at least of the twelve areas will have included more than one quarter, and it will have been only for convenience that they were designated by the name of a single quarter.” (In addition to the specified 12 I count as active *amphoda* in the middle of the third century *Akris*, *Anamphodarchôn*, *Dekates*, *Dromou*, *Gymnasiou Notou Dromou*, *Herakleous topôn*, *en to hiero Thoeiridos*, *Metroou*, *Nemeseiou* (cf. Mertens [below, n. 69] 91), *Lykiôn paremboles*, *Temienouthoês*, *Chenoboskôn*, i.e., 12 more. The addition of *Dromou Sarapidos*, if this is different from the “North” and “South Dromos,” would make 13. It should also be noted that additional names of *amphoda* may emerge. Three (*Akris*, *Anamphodarchôn*, *Nemeseiou*) have turned up since H. Rink compiled his list in 1921.) I. F. Fikhrman (*Archiv* 21 [1971] 115) reckons with “at least 30 *amphoda* in the Roman period.”

Clearly Rea's theory is only provisional. In the fourth century the standard phrase used of a *systates*, that he is officer of the tribe Δρόμου Γυμνασίου καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφόδων (*POxy.* 1116.5, 2715.5–6, *PFlor.* 39.4), implies that in that tribe there were at least three *amphoda* (Rea has examined the original of *POxy.* 1116.5 at my request, and reports that the line end should be read συστάτου φυλῆ[s rather than συστάτου ἀμφόδου). Possibly 2930.2–3 should be so restored as to offer (at least) three *amphoda* in the officer's title. It should also be noted that in 2894 (cf. also 2907) two applicants point out that the dead man whose place they have won in the ballot was in the same *amphodon* (not tribe) as themselves, namely Δρόμου Γυμνασίου, which is not one of the specified 12. In 2904.8–9 it seems that *amphoda*, not tribes, take turns for liturgic service. If the terminology is used strictly it tells against Rea's theory. Cf. n. 56 below.

⁵¹ 2902.12–13, πολείτη[s] ὧν καὶ αὐθιγενής. The word αὐθιγενής has not so far been recorded in administrative papyri. It was the word used by Nero in proclaiming the liberation of Greece, τὴν ἀπὸ παντός τοῦ αἰῶνος αὐθιγενῇ καὶ αὐτόχθονα ἐλευθερίαν πρότερον ἀφαιρεθείσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, *SIG*³ II 814.35. It seems, however, to have become technical in relation to corn-issues. The scholia on Aristophanes twice use it in discussing the distribution of corn sent to Athens c. 450–445 B.C. by “Psammetichus.” E.g., Schol. Aristoph. *Wasps* 718, καὶ ἐν τῷ διακρίνειν τοὺς αὐθιγενεῖς εἶδρον καὶ ἑτέρους τετραχισηλούς ἐπτακοσίους ἐξήκοντα ξένους παραγεγραμμένους. Did this technical sense develop in the Roman Empire?

from Alexandrian citizens,⁵² one of whom adds that he has an ἐφέστιον⁵³ in Oxyrhynchus. A formulary suggests that claims are to be expected from Romans.⁵⁴ Applicants may state that they have been omitted from the lists by mistake or that they have been abroad; or they urge that they have performed a liturgy and are entitled to benefit by explicit decree of the city council of Oxyrhynchus. Several applicants point out that they have already been successful in a ballot for a vacant place, available through the death of a previous holder in the same *amphodon* as themselves.⁵⁵ There are applications only from men — no women appear.

Some of the documents of class two, the memoranda, give totals for *amphoda* of Oxyrhynchus. One of these (2928) divides the persons under the headings ῥεμβοί (actual total 635) and δόλογοι (actual total 93) specified for twelve named *amphoda*. Another (2929) offers a heading "Individual list of the 3000 for the month Payni year 2" and lists a total of 2904 persons grouped in the same twelve *amphoda*. Rea infers from these documents that the ideal total of recipients was 4000 (3000/900/100).⁵⁶ "The 3000" are the scrutinized locally born Oxyrhynchites plus resident Alexandrians and Romans; the 900 are the ῥεμβοί, "supernumeraries";⁵⁷ the 100 are δόλογοι, "persons admitted as qualified."

In the documents of the third class, registers of issues kept by names of persons,⁵⁸ there is one entry for each month: that is, there was one issue a month. Rea argues that the theoretical monthly allowance was 1 artaba, which he equates to 5 Roman modii. The distribution takes

⁵² 2901, 2911, 2915, 2916.

⁵³ 2916 ii 5, cf. 8 and editor's note.

⁵⁴ 2927.3 and editor's note. 2915.18 alludes to a "list of Romans and Alexandrians." No actual application survives from a Roman *domo Roma*, or specifying Roman citizenship as the ground of application.

⁵⁵ E.g., ἐπίλογχος λαχὼν χώρας πεσούσης, ἐκ κλήρου λαχὼν.

⁵⁶ Ad loc. and pp. 6–7. The phrase "the 3000" is interpreted by analogy with "the 900" in 2908 iii (see n. 57 below). The inference is open to question since "the 3000" may be the ideal number for the 12 specified *amphoda*, and an additional ideal number (not necessarily 3000) could apply to the remaining *amphoda*. Cf. n. 50 above.

⁵⁷ Rea translates as "sundries." Mostly they seem to be noncitizens whose claim was that they had performed a liturgy. The "ideal total" of 900 is inferred from an application (2908 iii) for participation in "the 900 artabas" and "the 900," endorsed "admitted to the class of supernumeraries." N. Lewis, *Cd'E* 49 [1974] 158, offers different translations of ῥεμβοί and δόλογοι.

⁵⁸ Some (e.g., 2934) but not all (e.g., 2936 col. ii) in roughly alphabetical order.

place on the presentation of authorizations to the competent officers.

The distribution is called *ἱερόν*, i.e., "imperial."⁵⁹ This must surely mean that its cost is borne by the imperial revenues. Rea now calls attention to certain similar but isolated texts from other places in Egypt: from Hermopolis in A.D. 261,⁶⁰ from Alexandria at about the same date,⁶¹ and above all from Antinoopolis more than a century earlier.⁶² There are therefore grounds for thinking that an issue of corn may have been found in other cities of Egypt, and perhaps throughout the empire. More radically still, Rea puts forward a case for the view that the issue of corn in Oxyrhynchus was modeled on that in Rome (the *frumentationes* or *frumentum publicum*) and proceeds to apply his Oxyrhynchite evidence to the elucidation of the Roman system.

If this suggestion can be made to stick, then we have come full circle to the starting point of this paper: Oxyrhynchus gives information about Rome, this time about a Roman social institution. The information is not yet given in direct form through an account of or a set of documents concerned with the working of that institution in Rome. Rather a living institution in third century Oxyrhynchus is reconstructed from documents, and inferences are then drawn backward in time to the supposed Roman model. The thought process must be clearly stated to ensure that the argument is not circular and does not become so. In fact it is not circular: the Oxyrhynchite institution yields up its secrets to independent analysis. The Roman system has long been the subject of discussion, and many scholars — Mommsen, Cardinali, Rostovtzeff⁶³ — have put on record their views of its nature. In 1939 Denis van Berchem of the University of Geneva restudied it in a remarkable book.⁶⁴ It will be an irony of historical discovery if uncertainties in the Roman system can be resolved from that used in Oxyrhynchus.

The Roman *frumentum publicum*, begun by C. Gracchus and football of political parties in the last century of the republic, took on an established form under the direction of Julius Caesar the dictator. In June

⁵⁹ 2898.10 and editor's note.

⁶⁰ Wilcken *Chr.* 425, and *SB* I 4514.

⁶¹ Pastoral letter of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, quoted by Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.21.9.

⁶² 2941-2942, c. A.D. 154.

⁶³ See Van Berchem (n. 64 below) 10, "Note bibliographique."

⁶⁴ *Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'empire* (1939). I am indebted to M. Van Berchem for a discussion of this topic, and for showing me in advance of publication a review he has written of *POxy.* XL (now published in *JRS* 64 [1974] 243).

46 B.C. a special scrutiny (*recensus*) reduced the number of beneficiaries from 320,000 to 150,000 persons.⁶⁵ The scrutiny was conducted through the *domini insularum* (the landlords of the blocks of apartment houses) region by region, *vicatim*. The lower figure, allowed to rise a little to 200,000 in 2 B.C., was the level maintained by Augustus. That is to say it was a *numerus clausus*. The level was maintained by accepting new names for the list only when titular holders lapsed on death and new entrants balloted for their places. The amount of the issue seems to have been 5 modii per month, and was controlled by issue of tokens (*tesserae*) presented when the issue was drawn.⁶⁶

Now three features in the Oxyrhynchite system are so similar that a derivative connection becomes hard to resist. These features are: (1) the existence of a *numerus clausus* of recipients; (2) entry to the *numerus clausus* by a process of balloting, *subsortitio* in the time of Julius Caesar (and an analogous procedure under Trajan, as Rea argues), various terms at Oxyrhynchus;⁶⁷ (3) the admission and scrutiny of applicants by geographical attachments — they reside in one of the named *amphoda* of Oxyrhynchus, and the presiding officer is the phylarch, the principal officer of the tribes into which the citizen body was divided, and among which the *amphoda* were allocated.⁶⁸ This corresponds exactly to Suetonius' description of Caesar's procedure, that it was *vicatim, per dominos insularum*. This last term also throws light on two long surviving lists of houses set out street by street, naming their owners or occupants if they are men (freemen or freedmen). One of these is dated A.D. 235, and is from Oxyrhynchus;⁶⁹ the other is from Panopolis of the early fourth century,⁷⁰ a longer but less detailed list,

⁶⁵ Suet. *Iul.* 41.

⁶⁶ Van Berchem argues in his book that these were not dicelike objects but wooden tablets giving at least the names of the officers responsible for the issue and the person entitled to it. He has pointed out to me that in *POxy.* XL 2924 the holders of authorizations are described as τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν τάβλας ἐσχηκότας, in which the word τάβλα clearly translates Latin *tabula*.

⁶⁷ See n. 55 above for Oxyrhynchus; *POxy.* XL p. 9 for Trajan.

⁶⁸ See n. 50 above.

⁶⁹ *POsl.* III 111. Its uniqueness in papyrological documentation is emphasized by M. Hombert-Cl. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement* (P. Lugd. Bat. V) 142-143; cf. P. Mertens, *Les services de l'état civile* 92ff; H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung* 270ff; I. F. Fikhman, *Archiv* 21 (1971) 113f. In l. 235 an Alexandrian citizen registered as owner-occupier is described as ἔχων τὸ ἐφέστιον; cf. n. 53 above.

⁷⁰ V. Martin, *Rech. de Pap.* 2 (1962) 39 (PGen. inv. 108 = SB VIII 9902), combined with a Berlin papyrus identified by A. Swiderek, to be published by Z. Borkowski.

also compiled street by street. These lists have been regarded as preparatory material for the selection of liturgists; they would have been equally useful for the scrutiny of persons seeking admission to the *numerus clausus*.⁷¹

These features of the mode of organization seem to me to be strong enough to bear the weight of Rea's claim that a living Roman system was deliberately chosen as the model for the Oxyrhynchite system. Administrative systems do not grow out of the air. So strong is human inertia and the force of tradition that existing systems are adapted rather than new ones invented. Having said that I should not want necessarily to adopt two of Rea's other arguments: that the ration had a similar beginning age in the two places (he argues for the age of fourteen) and that the quantity of the issue was the same. Both points are disputable, and the argument from quantity is ill founded. The Roman 5 modii a month is tralatitian; and the amount issued at Oxyrhynchus is nowhere precisely stated.⁷² We may note, however, with Rea that the existence of the class of "the 900" supernumeraries, who normally obtain an issue of corn in return for undertaking a liturgy, helps to explain some enigmatic evidence from Rome which suggests that certain individuals, including freedmen and minors, might find their way onto the Roman lists by a special avenue of approach.

What is of intense interest is that the principal beneficiaries in Oxyrhynchus are citizens of Oxyrhynchus — heads of households⁷³ who constitute the total referred to as "the 3000."⁷⁴ Their restricted

⁷¹ At the last minute I observe that V. B. Schuman has already drawn attention to the similarity of procedure in Suet. *Iul.* 41, *vicatim per dominos insularum*, and that used in *POsl.* III 111, *Rech. de Pap.* 4 (1967) 171.

⁷² Rea's inference that it was an artaba can be supported from the apparent equivalence of "the 900 artabas" and "the 900" in the application noted in n. 57 above. It appears to have been a standard unit. Granted that the artaba in question was the artaba *δημοσίω*, the supposed equivalence of 1 artaba and 5 Roman modii rests on an error of Segré's arithmetic. As John Carter and Keith Hopkins have been quick to point out (*ZPE* 13 [1974] 195-196), this artaba is equivalent to $3\frac{3}{8}$ modii, not 5.

⁷³ Inferred from the fact that men only submit applications. And cf. *POsl.* III 111.

⁷⁴ It is a point of speculative interest to test "the 3000" against estimates of the total population (particularly hazardous because it is not clear whether "the 3000" should be doubled, cf. n. 56 above). I. F. Fikhman has recently estimated the population of Oxyrhynchus in the third century as 30,000 persons (*Archiv* 21 [1971] 116). If "3000" represents households, and we use a multiplier of 6 (probably too high, see Fikhman), the total is 18,000. A priori, a figure of 18,000 for the middle classes in a total population of 30,000 seems too high. The probability is that both figures are wrong.

numbers, their names and consequent prosopographical cross-checking, the explicit reference to scrutiny at the *epikrisis*, show that they are middle- and upper-class inhabitants of the city, whether that class is defined as payers of the lower poll tax rate of 12 drachmas or as members of the gymnasium. The laboring, farming, and artisan classes, which are likely to have been much nearer the poverty line (a private letter of the third century hints at near starvation)⁷⁵ were not in receipt of rations. Nowhere in the applications is poverty or lack of means put forward as a reason for admission to the distribution. Now this conclusion is of very great interest in relation to the corn distribution in Rome. Mommsen argued that it was introduced and maintained as an *Armenversorgung*, a kind of poor relief, a measure of social justice.⁷⁶ Van Berchem in his book pointed out that there is no trace in the record of poverty serving as qualification to receive the public corn, and his stand on this point now seems vindicated by the new evidence from Oxyrhynchus. As a result we must revise our terminology: the English word "dole"⁷⁷ does not have the right associations for the Roman *frumentum publicum*. I have tried instead to use the neutral words "issue," "distribution," and "ration." And equally slanted are the moralizing reflections called up by Juvenal's famous words

duas res anxius optat
Panem et circenses.

But even Van Berchem admits that in later centuries, when the corn issue was well established in other cities than Rome, namely Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch, its character changed into "assistance offered to the proletariat of large towns."⁷⁸ This admission, against which his own evidence should have put him on guard, is now seen to run against the character of the institution in Oxyrhynchus and therefore probably to be wrong.

Three points of capital importance seem to me to be assured as a result of this examination. First, there was an undoubted "imperial" distribution of corn in cities in Egypt between A.D. 261 and 272; second, the case for this distribution being organized on the system still in force in Rome is strong; third, the beneficiaries in both Oxyrhynchus and Rome were the middle classes.

The sudden emergence of evidence about this important institution

⁷⁵ An unpublished private letter (inv. 36.4B98/D[3-5]a) speaks of persons *πινοντων* (= *πεινώντων*) ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ. The date is probably 3rd cent. A.D.

⁷⁶ Quoted by Van Berchem (n. 64 above) 7 n. 2.

⁷⁷ Utilized also by Rea for the Oxyrhynchus evidence.

⁷⁸ P. 178.

encourages the conviction that similar evidence must still lie hidden. So it almost certainly does. But until it appears, speculative boldness in seeking a perspective for this institution and in explaining what are at present isolated phenomena must be kept in check. The second-century evidence from Antinoopolis for a corn distribution is, as Rea has himself shown, inadequate to reveal its nature.⁷⁹ If it was a private benefaction, or an endowment established by Hadrian himself, or even a gift by an annually appointed eutheniarch, it would be of a different character from the imperial distribution of A.D. 261–272. Among earlier documents from Oxyrhynchus only *POslo* III 111 of A.D. 235 may be put forward as a hint that the later distribution system was already in being, and its witness is indecisive. Rea has plausibly argued that “an institution so intimately connected with the Roman citizenship as the corn dole could not have spread beyond the city [of Rome] before the *constitutio Antoniniana*.”⁸⁰ One must beware of inverting that argument and supposing that the *constitutio* entailed the establishment of corn distributions in other cities of the empire. Similarly one must beware of at once adopting Van Berchem’s new suggestion that an imperial corn distribution was established in Egypt when Severus introduced town councils as a kind of reward for undertaking greater responsibilities, attractive though the idea is as hypothesis. The municipal organization is the framework within which such a distribution could be organized; but there is no proof that the opportunity was taken. Such speculative perspectives may be useful if they encourage a search for evidence by Roman historians that imperial corn issues were part and parcel of the fabric of municipal institutions in other parts of the empire.

Evidence of a kind can however be put forward even now for the view that the imperial corn distributions in the 60s of the third century in Roman Egypt were a crisis measure. A papyrus document shortly to be published by P. J. Parsons⁸¹ is a proclamation by a *iuridicus* in March A.D. 246 requiring instant registration of all private stocks of corn in the city and nome of Oxyrhynchus with a view to its compulsory purchase. “The proclamation presupposes a shortage of corn around Oxyrhynchus,” writes the editor. That there was a severe provisioning difficulty at this time has already been inferred from a number of Oxyrhynchite documents of A.D. 247 and 248. One municipal office held by local

⁷⁹ *POxy.* XL p. 117.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸¹ *POxy.* XLII 3048. The fact that the issuing officer is the *iuridicus* may suggest that this proclamation would also be made in other nomes. Cf. n. 75 above.

councillors, at considerable expense to themselves but also for a time carrying considerable honor, was that of the eutheniarch. A text at the end of the third century defines the duties of the office as "to supply the city with food" (*POxy.* XII 1252V.36). Two documents of the late second century show that the eutheniarch had to dip into his own pocket to pay for this corn and also to supervise the bakeries.⁸² In A.D. 247 and 248 there was difficulty in Oxyrhynchus in filling the office, which was held in common with the gymnasiarchy. A tenure of five days in each office is mentioned in A.D. 247;⁸³ sixteen days' joint office in October 248;⁸⁴ in November 248 a gymnasiarch who is an ex-*prytanis*, on being nominated to some days' service as eutheniarch also, challenges his nominator to take his property and carry out the duties.⁸⁵

If the imperial corn issue is in being at this time, how are the duties of "secretary of the corn issue" (*POxy.* XL) and eutheniarch to be delimited? One way out is to suppose that these offices were not in existence at the same time but succeeded each other. In *POxy.* 1252 verso ii 16 it is alleged in about A.D. 288 that the eutheniarchy was being revived in Oxyrhynchus after a long period in which it had been in abeyance. N. Lewis has already suggested that this "long period" began in about 248 to 250.⁸⁶ He points out that there is no evidence for eutheniarchs in office after 248. It might now be further argued that the imperial corn issue was introduced to Oxyrhynchus as part of a reform under Philip the Arabian, for which P. J. Parsons has already presented a cogent case.⁸⁷ One element in that reform was the institution of the phylarch, whose part in the corn issue has already been seen.

Such a reconstruction depends heavily on combinatory factors and the argument from silence. And against it might be urged that the eutheniarch's duty was to provide food for all citizens, not the restricted numbers who benefited from the imperial corn issue. But the objection itself is uncertainly based. Only new texts will delimit the beneficiaries of the eutheniarch's activities, or the more precise dating and context of the imperial corn issues. Fortunately there is a good chance that instructive new texts will appear.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
LONDON

⁸² *PTeb.* II 397.14, A.D. 198; *POxy.* VI 908, A.D. 199.

⁸³ *POxy.* XII 1418.

⁸⁴ *PERlangen* 18.

⁸⁵ *POxy.* XXXVIII 2854.

⁸⁶ *BASP* 7 (1970) 114, written before the publication of *POxy.* XXXVIII 2854, XL, and of course XLII 3048.

⁸⁷ *JRS* 57 (1967) 134ff.

THE FREQUENCY AND STRUCTURING OF TRADITIONAL FORMULAS IN HESIOD'S *THEOGONY*

WILLIAM W. MINTON

THIS study has its origin in long-standing concern with the question of whether or not Hesiod was an oral poet. With the publication of G. P. Edwards's recent book,¹ with its very full demonstration of the oral character of the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*, that concern was largely satisfied. But the ultimate support, a precisely based assessment of formula density in the poems, is still lacking. Edwards made some attempt to indicate density, but on a questionable basis and with only partial results. Overall density can, indeed, now be estimated and put in terms that are comparable to figures for the Homeric poems; these we shall look at, but however closely calculated they are still only estimates. The only way of coming to any reliable index of formula density is by precise analysis of shorter passages. This is the method worked out in some detail by A. B. Lord in his article "Homer as Oral Poet."² It has the advantage of facilitating the inclusion of analogical formations as well as straight repetitions and of assisting study of the way both are articulated in the line. Lord, for example, marks the first line of the *Iliad* thus (solid underlining indicating straight formula; broken underlining, analogical, "formulaic" expressions):

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, || Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος

¹ *The Language of Hesiod in Its Traditional Context* (Oxford, 1971). Of earlier works A. Hoekstra's "Hésiode et la tradition orale," *Mnemosyne* 10 (1957) 193-225, is more of an illustration than a proof of oral composition, and J. A. Notopoulos' "Homer, Hesiod and the Achæan Heritage of Oral Poetry," *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 177-197, is more enthusiastic than conclusive.

² *HSCP* 72 (1968) 15-34. The basic technique was, of course, first used by Milman Parry, who applied it to an analysis of the first 25 lines of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in "The Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making: I. Homer and Homeric Style," *HSCP* 41 (1930) 118-121. It was further developed by Lord himself in *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960) 143 in a new analysis of the first 15 lines of the *Iliad*, with emphasis on the congruence of formula and rhythmical units, and the first 5 were reexamined in the article just mentioned (p. 27) along with other passages, with further emphasis on that principle.

It is obvious that the expressions are joined ("articulated") at the mid-line caesura. It could accordingly be said, to use Lord's useful phrasing, that the line is 100 percent "formula and formulaic" with 50 percent "straight formula." While they have little meaning when applied to a single line, such indications of formula density in longer passages can be very useful. The method has been applied by Lord to medieval and Serbo-Croatian material, and as one means not only of supporting, but of determining orality.³ His conclusion, based on extensive sampling of passages from various poetries in this manner, is that a pattern of upward of 60 percent formula or formulaic with upward of 25 percent straight formula indicates oral or orally based composition.

One would like to be able to apply these proportions generally, but they appear to be devised and conceived primarily for samplings from a single poem or, at most, a single poet.⁴ In applying this method, as I shall, to two 25-line passages from the *Theogony*, then, I should expect that the percentages obtained would correspond with Lord's scale if they were based only on the poems generally accepted as Hesiod's, that is, on the 1,850 lines of the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. But the results of a calculation on this basis are not only absurdly low in the light of Edwards's whole case for the oral character of Hesiodic poetry, but take into account only the small proportion of "Homeric" formulaic language that happens to be used more than once by Hesiod.⁵ There have been many comparisons of the language of the two poets, of which the most

³ Lord, *HSCP* 72 (above, n. 2) 15-34 passim (see 16, 24, 25, 29). This is contra G. S. Kirk, "Formular Language and Oral Quality," *YCS* 20 (1966) 155-174. Kirk argued for qualitative criteria, and though he did discount the value of quantitative analysis, his bias was triggered largely by the rather loose standards for measuring quantity that seemed to prevail at the time. His observation that "some method of indicating the amount of formulaic material within the verse is necessary if even this very limited quantitative comparison is to have much value" (p. 156, n. 2) is a grudging but clear recognition of the need for just such greater precision of method as Lord was developing and as I propose to carry further.

⁴ Lord sets forth the percentages in *HSCP* 72 (above, n. 2) 24 in summarizing evidence and arguments presented in 15-24. The proportions are actually stated inversely, in terms of written composition: "So far, I believe, we can conclude that a pattern of 50 to 60 per cent formula or formulaic, with 10 to perhaps 25 per cent straight formula indicates clearly literary or written composition." For the restriction to a single poem or poet, see p. 21.

⁵ The percentages on this basis are, for *Th.* 1-25, roughly 41 percent formula and formulaic with less than 22 percent straight formula and, for *Th.* 676-700, roughly 27 percent formula and formulaic with under 17 percent straight formula. For Edwards's principles of argument and conclusions, see below, n. 10 and text ad loc.

recent and compelling is embodied in Edwards's study, especially in his treatment of Hesiod's traditional poetic language and its formulaic repetitions. But nowhere is there a more dramatic demonstration of the overwhelming proportion of formulas common to Homer and Hesiod than in the fact that of the 33-odd pages of Fritz Krafft's list of formulas in Hesiod in his *Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Homer und Hesiod*, 18 pages contain formulas found several times also in Homer, 10 list Hesiodic phrases or formulas found only once in Homer, and only 5 list formulas peculiar to Hesiod (*Theogony* and *Works and Days*).⁶ We have, in fact, every reason to take the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, along with the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, as the larger corpus against which to test these passages.⁷ In doing so, however, we raise the question of whether Lord's criteria of percentages will still be valid. A poet with limited set of formulas will repeat them with greater frequency in a short poem than will a poet with a large stock.⁸ We can only assume, and the results seem to bear this out, that the use of the larger corpus will tend to balance out the frequencies. The level of frequency in Homer and in Hesiod is indeed markedly different, even on this identical basis, but consistently so; the difference at once suggests interesting possibilities and the need for further study.

In any case an analysis of the passages in the *Theogony*, two quite different and widely separated pieces (1-25 and 676-700), using Lord's method and criteria, but drawing on the combined Hesiodic and

⁶ For Edwards (above, n. 1), see especially pp. 23-39 (chap. III) on poetic language and 40-54 (chap IV) on repetitions and formulas (and on the latter see also below, n. 12). Fritz Krafft's compilations in his *Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Homer und Hesiod* (Göttingen, 1963) are on pp. 163-196.

⁷ Edwards also confines himself to these four works, except for necessary consideration of the *Shield*. I have excluded other material in both the Hesiodic and Homeric corpora as not yet proven. Notopoulos' criteria for the Hymns in "The Homeric Hymns as Oral Poetry," *AJP* 83 (1962) 337-368, and for the Cyclic Epic in "Studies in Early Greek Oral Poetry," *HSCP* 68 (1964) 1-77, are indiscriminate and rather loose. The Hesiodic fragments have not been studied, and the status of the *Shield* still seems uncertain (see Edwards [above, n. 1] *passim*, esp. 8, 192, 196-197).

⁸ It is instructive to test the percentages in Parry's analysis of the first 25 lines of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (see above, n. 2; cf. below, n. 17) when each is based on material in only the first 1,850 lines (equivalent to the extent of the Hesiodic corpus) in its own poem: *Iliad* 1-25 then shows roughly 22 percent formula and formulaic with a little over 19 percent straight formula (the eight lines repeated en bloc later in Book 1 are included only to the extent of their repetition elsewhere), and *Odyssey* 1-25 shows 17 percent formula and formulaic with 11 percent straight formula. This is roughly comparable to the low percentages calculated for Hesiod on a similar basis above (n. 5).

Homeric corpora as defined above, appears to lend support to Edwards's conclusion that the poem is oral in origin. The opening 25 lines are 72 percent formula and formulaic with 38.3 percent straight formula; lines 676-700 show 60.7 percent formula and formulaic with 35.3 percent straight formula. The relatively low proportion of formula and formulaic material in the latter passage is indeed notable and possibly significant.

In working with these passages it soon became apparent that, while Lord's principles for identifying formulas required for the most part only slight modification or refinement, some more precise means must be found for determining actual proportions of formula and formulaic material in the Greek hexameter line. The short two-part line of other poetries like the Yugoslav or Anglo-Saxon makes such calculation relatively simple, but the length and complexity of the Greek hexameter requires more sophisticated standards. The obvious point from which to start is the formular phrase itself as the building block of the line, and since these phrases are generally articulated into the spaces between caesuras, that is, the metrical cola, the latter will be taken as our measure.⁹ Virtually all lines have a central caesura, and most are further divisible into quarters by subsidiary caesural breaks within the half-line units, so that we may speak in terms of half-line or quarter-line blocks and compute formula density accordingly.

Though a large part of this study must be taken up with refining the standards for such division and accounting for real or apparent aberrations as they occur, it must not be forgotten that our primary concern is with Hesiod's relationship — or more exactly, that of the *Theogony* — to the tradition of oral poetry found in the Homeric poems, so far as that may emerge from a density study of formular material in two passages in the poem. However, the former purpose will in fact be found to reinforce the latter and give us something more than a pure account of formular density; it will give us an insight into the way Hesiod put his verses together, usually in accord with a general standard, but sometimes so differently that we may speak here too of a distinct development of the tradition.

In his book Edwards gives impressive statistics for various criteria that have been advanced for orality: observance of the law of economy

⁹ Cf. Lord, *HSCP* 72 (above, n. 2) 26: "It is important to work from line break to line break rather than with simple repetition of words and phrases by themselves, because it is in terms of parts of a line, I believe, rather than words in themselves, that the singer thinks. A formula extends from one break to another."

in well-defined formula systems, a generally low proportion of enjambment, and "the naturalness of formulaic extension and articulation."¹⁰ The ultimate proof, sheer quantity of repetition of identical phrases, Parry's "extension,"¹¹ is, of course, impossible because of the relative brevity of the poems. In the few pages he gives to the proportion of formulaic repetition, i.e., density, however, Edwards, contrary to his practice elsewhere, relies on the statistics of others. Restricting himself, quite properly, to material available for the two major Hesiodic poems and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, his calculations, like those of the figures he uses, are meant to reflect overall frequency; he is nowhere concerned with testing his findings through samplings of shorter passages. Though he recognizes and tries to correct the deficiencies inherent in data calculated on various bases, sometimes incorrectly, by his predecessors, he is clearly uneasy with the attempt, and his results give little confidence. In the end, indeed, we get a figure for the *Works and Days* only and in the very inexact and misleading terms of the proportion of lines containing repetitions. The figure itself, 46.5 percent, suggests a far more formulaic situation than one would expect or than in fact exists. Long and short repetitions are measured by the same rule, the whole line they are contained in, and the results cannot help being inflated; the true density of formulaic material in the poem, is, in fact, as we shall see, much lower.¹²

The only meaningful basis on which to determine overall frequency of repetition is from a calculation of the number of line-equivalents containing formulas. For Homer the calculation was made by C. E. Schmidt, who first gave figures for the number of repeated lines or

¹⁰ See Lord, *Singer of Tales* (above, n. 2) 130-131 (see also his article in *HSCP* 72), and Kirk (above, n. 3), especially as summarized on p. 174, from which the quotation in the text is repeated. Edwards (above, n. 1) is guided by these characteristics throughout and makes explicit reference to them at the beginning (p. 190) of his final chapter, "Conclusions."

¹¹ M. Parry *L'épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris, 1928) 48 (hereafter cited as *L'ép.tr.*) and his later article in *HSCP* 41 (above, n. 2) 132.

¹² Edwards's discussion of frequencies appears in pp. 40-45 (see also pp. 27-28) of his book (above, n. 1). It is largely an attempt to correct Notopoulos' calculation (above, n. 1) 180, based on an equation of P. F. Kretschmer's figure (*De iteratis Hesiodicis* [Breslau, 1913] 49) for the mere number of repetitions, long or short, in individual poems, with an overall percentage of lines "containing" repetitions in Hesiod. It well illustrates the hopeless confusion of existing information and of any attempts to extract meaningful figures from it. Oddly, though Edwards here uses Notopoulos' figures for "lines containing repetitions" without demur, he had earlier, and quite specifically, recognized its inadequacy as a measure of formula density (pp. 27-28).

lines made up of repeated phrases: 5605 for the *Iliad*, 3648 for the *Odyssey*, a total of 9253.¹³ To this Schmidt added a calculation of the number of lines that could be made up from other individual repeated phrases and came up with a total of about 16,000 lines, a figure close to the length of the *Iliad* itself (15,693 lines). This is a true density count. Stated as a percentage it means that nearly 57.5 percent of Homeric verse is virtually pure formula.¹⁴

In doing the same for Hesiod we shall, as in the analysis of the 25-line samplings, base our calculations on the two major Hesiodic poems and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Using the invaluable lists in Fritz Krafft's comparative study,¹⁵ with elimination of duplications and some material that is more analogical ("formulaic") than straight formula, we arrive at a figure of nearly 374 repeated lines or line-equivalents for the *Theogony* and 184 for the *Works and Days*. This means that something like 36.6 percent of the *Theogony* is straight formula, a proportion not near the Homeric figure, but still impressive. The proportion for the *Works and Days* is somewhat over 22 percent, which breaks down into 26.6 percent for the first half (somewhat less than 400 lines) and a bit over 18 percent for the second.

¹³ C. E. Schmidt, *Parallel-Homer* (Göttingen, 1885) viii, cited accurately and usefully by Parry, *L'ép. tr.* (above, n. 11) 9, n. 2, inaccurately and misleadingly by Notopoulos (above, n. 1) 180 as the number of lines that "are repeated or contain repeated phrases" (italics mine).

¹⁴ There is undoubtedly a certain element of chance in the fact that this figure is almost identical with the calculation of 58 percent straight formula in the first seven lines of the *Iliad* made in my earlier article, "The Fallacy of the Structural Formula," *TAPA* 96 (1965) 242. However, the overall figure for the *Theogony*, 36.6 percent (see text below) is quite close to the figure for lines 676-700 (35.3 percent) and not inconsistent with the 38.3 percent calculated for the first 25 lines, which contain an exceptional number of divine names and epithets in a traditional hymn setting. *Iliad* 1-25 and *Odyssey* 1-25 give further support to a correlation between the figure for overall density and that of individual passages. A very rough estimate, based on Parry's analysis (above, n. 2), shows about 50 percent straight formula for the *Iliad* passage and a little under 56 percent straight formula for that from the *Odyssey*. The unusually low figure for the lines from the *Iliad* here very probably reflects the fact that the 8 lines later repeated en bloc are only included (as in the calculation above, n. 8), to the extent of their further repetition elsewhere. Though it will have to be tested by further work, such a correlation suggests that a 25-line span is likely to present a reasonably representative picture and that any significant aberrations can be accounted for by special language or content.

¹⁵ Krafft (above, n. 6) 163-196. Krafft's method tends to lead him to exclude some formulas occurring in different line positions, but this is balanced out by the unavoidable retention in my calculation of some of the analogical or "formulaic" material he includes.

By Lord's criteria, then, with the cautionary proviso, defended above, that the data are based on the larger corpus and not on the single poet, the *Theogony* should be considered oral, but of the *Works and Days* only the first half, the introduction, as it were, to the portion described by the title, would qualify, and with some reservation.¹⁶ The *Works and Days* is obviously a special problem; its unique character may make any final determination about orality impossible.

We turn to the more precise, but limited, analysis of the two 25-line samplings from the *Theogony*. The first, lines 1-25, was chosen for comparability with the analyses of the initial lines of the *Iliad* by Parry and Lord and of the *Odyssey* by Parry.¹⁷ The second, lines 676-700, from the Titanomachy, was chosen as a battle passage that might be set beside similar material in Homer. There will be little attempt to do more than supply material for comparison, but some general conclusions about what appear to be Hesiodic characteristics will be immediately obvious and may be taken as a base for further study.

In the analyses themselves straight formulas (solid underlining) are to be understood as combinations of two or more words of the same metrical length found elsewhere, with Lord's allowance¹⁸ for (1) declension or conjugation of one or more words (I would add variant forms or words, and a broader concept of inflection that includes relationship of phrases to context through connectives, whether par-

¹⁶ For the division of the poem after line 382 and a good discussion of considerations that may account for the distinct metrical differences between the two halves see H. N. Porter, "The Early Greek Hexameter," *YCS* 12 (1951) 27-28 and n. 54. Edwards (above, n. 1) considers the *Works and Days* oral by the same standards as he does the *Theogony*; see in particular his pp. 192-193 (cf. pp. 195-196) and, more generally, the references and statements cited above, n. 10 and text ad loc.

¹⁷ I do little more here than record the statistics. Parry's analysis was used in both cases; Lord's practice would probably yield higher figures for the formulaic material. For percentages of straight formula in *Iliad* 1-25 (about 50 percent) and *Odyssey* 1-25 (a little under 56 percent), see above, n. 14; density of combined formula and formulaic material in *Iliad* 1-25 was found to be about 62 percent and in *Odyssey* 1-25 a little under 72 percent. The difference again reflects, I believe, the omission of much of 8 lines in the *Iliad* from the count. The one point of note here is the near identity of the figure for combined formula and formulaic material in *Theogony* 1-25 and *Odyssey* 1-25 (about 72 percent) in spite of the differences in the percentage of straight formula. At no point do I see anything that would give any real support to Lord's contention in *HSCP* 72 (above, n. 2) 27 that the opening lines of a poem are likely to be less formulaic than later passages; but of course we need some later Homeric samplings to compare with these openings.

¹⁸ *HSCP* 72 (above, n. 2) 25-26.

ticles, pronouns, adverbs, or prepositions); (2) any change in the order of words without a change in meaning; (3) repetition from a different part of the line. (4) Phrases must be articulated into one or more of the metrical-rhythmic segments along which the poet constructs his line; the definition and measurement of these segments, which is one of the chief purposes of this study, will be taken up shortly. (5) Unlike Lord I cannot admit single words, notably those in the runover position at the beginning of the line, as formulas in themselves. The localization of individual words (no less than metrical word-types and parts of speech) is far stronger than has been recognized and is a subject for separate study. I would, however, admit a more controversial unit, a collocation in which one word is justified by mere correspondence of sound with part of another (see below on *Theogony* 684).

For "formulaic expressions" (indicated by broken underlining) I find Parry's initial definition most useful: "phrases which have the same metrical value and which are enough alike in thought and words to leave no doubt that the poet who used them knew them not only as single formulas, but as formulas of a certain type."¹⁹ Requirements of identical parts of speech and sharing of important words or word groups, to which Parry limited himself in practice, are not strictly adhered to here if the phrases are clearly built on a like pattern, whether of meaning, structure, articulation with context, or even sound. This framework is broad enough to include shifts in voice, but not to admit the inclusion of truly extraneous elements, such as direct objects. Particular care must be taken to exclude apparently similar combinations with no sense relationship, which result from the fortuitous appearance of words in favored line positions.²⁰

These are the criteria. How is the pertinent material in each line to be measured? In his analysis, as in his advice, Lord tends to divide the hexameter into two or three parts. The formular phrases he identifies do indeed fit into recognized metrical segments or cola into which the line falls, but these parts are often unequal in length, covering more than

¹⁹ *HSCP* 41 (above, n. 2) 85. For the statement of his limitations in practice, outlined in what follows here, see p. 117.

²⁰ E.g., ποδῶν τ' αἰπεία ἰωή (*Th.* 682) is only superficially like πόλιος αἰπεία κολώνη (*Il.* 2.811; cf. 11.210). ἰωή is invariable here, and αἰπεία in the *Iliad* appears to be attracted to this position by αἰπεινὰ (κάρηνα). Persistent combinations of localized words like πρῶτιστα (τὰ πρῶτα) and θεός are more of a problem: sometimes they may be welded by habitual use in favored positions into a real unit, sometimes they are distinct. See below on *Th.* 24 and n. 35 and text ad loc.

one such segment. For purposes of calculating density we must identify the individual metrical cola, which are roughly equal in length. In this identification and in terminology I follow for the most part the practice of Mark Edwards in his useful article, "Some Features of Homeric Craftsmanship," and refer the reader to his documentation for further information about the metrical problems involved.²¹ Edwards, like Lord, sees a close relationship between the poet's phrasing and the metrical cola. The line will, accordingly, be considered to fall normally into four parts, marked off by three internal divisions: the "A" caesura is the break in or before the second foot, the "B" caesura the mid-line caesura in the third foot, and the "C" that before the fifth foot (bucolic diaeresis). Edwards's quotation of *Iliad* 1.138 (p. 118) aptly shows how these units act as building blocks in the construction of a line: ἀλλὰ σοί, ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδές, ἄμ' ἐσπόμεθ', ὄφρα σὺ χαίρης.

The fact that formulaic phrases are almost always articulated by these caesuras is one justification for seeing real breaks here in the poet's "feel" for the line, regardless of whether what we should call true sense-units emerge at these points. They do emerge often enough, however, to confirm our findings. The B and C caesuras, along with the caesura of the fourth foot, to which we shall turn in a moment, are the points from which noun-epithet formulas filling the space to the end of the line begin, and the space from the A to C caesura, as well as from the beginning of the line to the B caesura, may also be so filled. Furthermore, sentences begin, apart from the beginning of the verse, almost exclusively at the caesural divisions noted, including that in the fourth foot.²²

In these "four-part" lines the A or the C caesura, or occasionally both, may be obscured or missing, so that the line can indeed sometimes be considered as falling into two parts divided by the B caesura — or into a half and two quarters if one of the subsidiary caesuras remains. In a few cases, however, the B caesura itself is missing and the line falls

²¹ *TAPA* 97 (1966) 115-179; see here 117.

²² For noun-epithet formulas see Parry, *L'ép. tr.* (above, n. 11) 50-51 (table I), 117-118; M. Edwards (above, n. 21) 159-160. For sentence beginnings see M. Edwards 158-159. At one point (p. 167) Edwards trenchantly notes also how the varied use, or nonuse, of epithets filling a colon "show that the unit of construction, the building-block, was the group of syllables between caesurae"; see also pp. 172-174. It is of particular importance to note that the concept of "sense-unit" cannot be used in determining articulation of a line when an epithet creating a sense-unit in one line may be replaced by a distinct new clause in another: cf. ἀλλ' ἔθι νῦν κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων (*Il.* 2.163) and ἀλλ' ἔθι νῦν κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν, μηδ' ἔτ' ἐρώει (*Il.* 2.179). See below, n. 25.

into three parts articulated by the A caesura and the caesura of the fourth foot. This is a fundamentally different kind of line and must be treated and marked differently. The first line of the *Theogony* is a good example: Μουσάων | Ἑλικωνιάδων | ἀρχώμεθ' αἰεδεν. Such lines are more than twice as common in the *Theogony* as in Homer, and are still more frequent in the *Works and Days*. They are, in a word, a phenomenon to be reckoned with in Hesiod.²³ In many lines, moreover, where a word end at the B caesura makes a two- or four-part division technically possible, the poet actually seems to be thinking in terms of such a three-part line, and it is better to divide it as such, e.g. (*Th.* 13): κούρην τ' | αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς | γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην. In some such lines a formula unit proper to a four-part line appears, as in *Th.* 19: Ἡὼ τ' | Ἡέλιόν τε μέγαν | λαμπράν τε Σελήνην. Conversely, in some lines articulated in four parts a formula unit appropriate to or found also in a three-part line may appear, as in *Th.* 684: ὥς ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἴεσαν βέλεα στονόεντα (cf. *Il.* 17.374: ἀλλήλων | ἀλεείνοντες | βέλεα στονόεντα). Such interaction of the rhythms of four-part lines and three-part lines is, I believe, particularly to be looked for in Hesiod. It suggests that the rhythm of the three-part line, in spite of its comparative rarity, was very strong in his consciousness; this, together with Porter's observation that the line is primarily associated with catalogue material, makes it likely that it is a very old and familiar pattern.²⁴

Such phenomena are only one indication of how complex the hexameter, especially Hesiod's hexameter, can be. The identification, of formulas and the attempt to measure them by articulation into cola of four-part or three-part lines is not always easy, and is frequently exasperating, because a living stream of poetry is resistant to rule. But it can be done, successfully enough at least to permit the calculations we want, and in its inconsistencies it has the positive virtue of throwing

²³ See Porter (above, n. 16) 44-47. On the fourth-foot caesura, which is integral in a three-part line, M. Edwards (above, n. 21) notes further (p. 117, n. 3) that it is of marked importance for sentence or formula beginnings but less important than other caesuras for the articulation of the component parts of a sentence (as in the first example in n. 22 above). This is not inconsistent with Porter's observation that the three-part line is largely associated with catalogue material, where listings seriatim of names and noun-epithet material predominate.

²⁴ Lord, *HSCP* 72 (above, n. 2) 26, notes in passing the possibility of just such simultaneous operation of two rhythmic patterns in which the line can be broken "e.g., into either two or three parts," and speaks of a modulation of formulas, of which there is a hint in the examples above and of which we shall see more later.

a spotlight on the living, creative forces that went into the construction of the line.²⁵

In marking the passages certain conventions will be observed: in all four-part lines A, B, and C caesuras will be marked, if they exist, regardless of their relevance to formulaic material or "sense-units," by vertical strokes at the top of the line; the B caesura will be marked with a double stroke for clarity. When formulas fill these units they will be counted as half- or quarter-lines. The caesuras in three-part lines (i.e., the A caesura and the caesura of the fourth foot) will be marked by vertical strokes at the bottom of the line to minimize confusion: the three-part lines (and here I include all those that are clearly so articulated even though a B-caesural break may technically occur) are *Th.* 1, 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, 24, 686. Formulas filling segments in these lines will be counted in thirds. The occasional appearance of a fourth-foot caesura in a four-part line may indicate intrusion of a three-part

²⁵ Here and in what follows I use the term "four-part line" for the cumbersome "four-(two-)part line" for any that includes a B caesura. A word may be said at this point about G. S. Kirk's criticism in "Studies in Some Technical Aspects of Homeric Style: I. The Structure of the Homeric Hexameter," *YCS* 20 (1966) 76-104, of attempts to find a correlation between the parts of a four-colon line and "sense-units." Kirk's statements are, first of all, contradictory. On p. 83, for example, he gives a very liberal interpretation to the sense-unit or "unit of meaning," admitting single words, including objects; on p. 84 he finds a division between object and verb at a somewhat inconvenient caesural break "hardly a happy one." So, too, his marking of sense-units in a passage from *Iliad* 16 to show a contrast with the caesural divisions (pp. 88-89), which are essentially the same as those I have worked with, is rather heavily weighted on the side of longer combinations of more obvious units of meaning. The result is that while two-part lines (divided at the B caesura) and "three-part" lines (divided, unequally, at the B caesura and either the A or the C caesura) emerge, there are some cases where the sense-divisions fall between caesuras, in one case at the caesura of the fourth foot (which Kirk does not recognize), creating a good "three-part" line in my sense (446), elsewhere mostly within the first colon (426: **H ῥα, καὶ ἐξ | ὀχέων*; 433: *ἐρδ' ἀτὰρ | οὐ τοι πάντες* |); in these cases the first colon could be justified as a "building block": it is not uncommon for it to end with a preposition or introductory-transitional adverb. Once, in fact, we accept the concept of the building block as the unit of words filling a colon, the whole matter becomes much simpler, and Kirk's whole passage could with little difficulty be articulated as four-part or three-part lines in my sense. See further above, n. 22. It is worth noting that while M. Edwards (above, n. 21) 117 speaks of a "close relationship between the sense-units of the sentence and the metrical cola" he is stating only one aspect of the situation; his use and application of the term "building-blocks" for the units making up metrical cola later (see especially the quotation from p. 167 [above, n. 22]) shows that he understood the poet's method of building the line out of words and phrases fitting these entities.

rhythm and formular division; when a formula fills the space before or after this caesura, it is counted in thirds (*Th.* 18, 681, 684, 692; cf. 700). Cases of the opposite phenomenon, phrases in three-part lines filling units appropriate to four-part lines (*Th.* 11, 19, 20) are indicated only by underlining and are calculated accordingly when necessary (*Th.* 20 only). The articulation of formular material into the metrical units will usually be clear from the text itself, with the assistance of the general analysis following, though the complexities resulting from poetic composition have not always made it possible to mark and cite references to formular phrases in strict consistency with the colon units with which they can, in fact, be shown to be joined.²⁶ To the right of each line the column marked *F* contains my calculation of the amount of straight formula in the line; *F* & *F* indicates the amount of combined formula and formulaic material. These figures reflect both Hesiodic and Homeric evidence, in accordance with the reasons set forth earlier, and are the basis for my calculation of percentages; in presenting them in the following section, however, I shall add for completeness and precision the calculation of percentages based only on the 1850 lines of the Hesiodic corpus itself.

Theogony 1-25²⁷

	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i> & <i>F</i>
Μουσάων 'Ελικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' αἰδεῖν, αἶθ' θ' 'Ελικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε ¹	—	—
καί τε περὶ κρήνην ² ἰοειδέα πόσσ' ἀπαλοῖσιν	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
ὀρχεῦνται καὶ βωμὸν ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος. ³	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$

²⁶ Two cases deserve special note: two near half lines (*Th.* 685, 697) with formulas starting at the beginning of the fourth foot are counted as full half lines, the first (685) as straight formula, the second (697), in which the formula starting at this point covers an irregular, shorter span (equivalent to that of a line-end formula after the C caesura) and is completed by formulaic material, as half formula and half formulaic. These lines are treated more fully in the commentary following the Greek texts.

²⁷ The calculation based on the Hesiodic corpus, mentioned above and included in the data that follow for the two passages, was stated earlier (above, n. 5); when set beside evidence of a comparable nature for Homer (above, n. 8) and taken with other considerations in the text ad loc., it seemed too dubious to use by itself.

Both here and in *Th.* 676-700 below the text used is that of Rzach. Identification of formulaic material within Hesiod has been facilitated by a yet unpublished concordance of my own.

5	καί τε λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χροά ⁴		
	<u>Περμησσοῖο</u>	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
	ἦ Ἴππου κρήνης ἦ Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο ⁵	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
	ἀκροτάτω Ἐλικῶνι ⁶ χοροῦς ἐνεποιήσαντο	—	—
	καλούς, ἱμερόεντας ⁷ ἐπερρώσαντο		
	<u>δὲ ποσσίν⁸</u>	—	I
	ἐνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι, <u>κεκαλυμμέναι</u> ἡέρι		
	<u>πολλῇ⁹</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
10	ἐννύχαι <u>στεῖχον¹⁰</u> <u>περικαλλέα</u>		
	<u>ᾗσσαν ἱεῖσαι¹¹</u>	$\frac{1}{4}$	I
	<u>ὑμνεῦσαι</u> Δία τ' αἰγίοχον ¹² (καί)		
	<u>πότνιαν Ἥρην¹³</u>	$\frac{2}{3}$	I
	Ἀργεῖην, χρυσεόισι πεδίλοις ἐμβεβαυῖαν, ¹⁴	—	$\frac{3}{4}$
	κούρην τ' αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς γλαυκῶπιν		
	<u>Ἀθήνην¹⁵</u>	I	I
	Φοῖβόν τ' <u>Ἀπόλλωνα¹⁶</u> καὶ Ἄρτεμιν		
	<u>ἰοχέαιραν¹⁷</u>	I	I
15	ἦ δὲ Ποσειδάωνα γαιήοχον, ἐννοσίγαιον, ¹⁸	I	I
	καὶ Θέμιν αἰδοίην ¹⁹ ἐλικοβλέφαρόν τ'		
	<u>Ἀφροδίτην</u>	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
	Ἥβην τε <u>χρυσостέφανον²⁰</u> καλήν τε		
	<u>Διώνην²¹</u>	—	I
	Λητώ τ' <u>Ἰαπετόν τε²²</u> ἰδὲ		
	<u>Κρόνον</u> <u>ἄγκυλομήτην²³</u>	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{5}{6}$
	Ἥω τ' <u>Ἡελίον τε μέγαν</u> λαμπράν τε Σελήνην ²⁴	I	I
20	<u>Γαίαν</u> τ' <u>Ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν</u> καὶ ²⁵		
	<u>Νύκτα μέλαιναν²⁶</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{2}{3}$
	ἄλλων τ' <u>ἀθανάτων²⁷</u> <u>ἱερὸν γένος</u> αἰὲν		
	<u>εὐόντων²⁸</u>	$\frac{3}{4}$	I
	αἷ νύ ποθ' ²⁹ <u>Ἡσίοδον</u> <u>καλήν</u>		
	<u>ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν³⁰</u>	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
	ἄρνας <u>ποιμαίνονθ'</u> <u>Ἐλικῶνος ὑπο ζαθέοιο³¹</u>	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
	τόνδε δέ με ³² <u>πρώτιστα θεαὶ³³</u>		
	<u>πρὸς μῦθον εἶπον³⁴</u>	$\frac{1}{3}$	I
25	<u>Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες</u> , <u>κοῦραι Διὸς</u>		
	<u>αἰγίοχοιο³⁵</u>	$\frac{I}{9\frac{7}{12}}$	$\frac{I}{18}$

Where any phrase below is part of a longer repeated phrase or line, all but the first occurrence is placed in parentheses.

¹ *σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε*: *Il.* 3.335 (16.136, 19.373), 18.478 and 609.

² *καὶ τε διὰ ῥινοῦ*: *Op.* 515. — *ἥ που ἐπὶ κρήνῃ*: *Od.* 15.442; *ἥ μὲν ἄρ' ἐς κρήνην*: *Od.* 10.107; (*ἦλθον*) *ἀπὸ κρήνης*: *Od.* 20.162; beginning one foot later, *ἀμφὶ περὶ κρήνην*: *Il.* 2.305 (read in *Th.* 3 by Priscian).

³ *Il.* 21.184, *Od.* 8.289.

⁴ *Op.* 522 (*εὖ τε . . .*). — *αἱ δὲ λοεσσάμεναι*: *Od.* 6.96. — *τέρενα χροά*: *Il.* 4.237 13.553, 14.406.

⁵ No firm parallel, but cf. *Ἐλικῶνος ὑπο ζαθέοιο*: *Th.* 23.

⁶ Not marked, but cf. *ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ* (*πολυδεϊράδος Ὀλύμπιοι*): *Il.* 1.499 (5.734, 8.3); *ἀκροτάτας κορυφάς* (sc. *ἱπποπόλων Θρηκῶν ὄρεα*): *Il.* 14.228 (227).

⁷ *καλήν, κυανόπεζαν*: *Il.* 11.629. But very frequent to the masculine caesura in *Iliad* (17 ×) and *Odyssey* (12 ×) in various cases (e.g., *καλήν, χρυσείην* / *δαίδαλέην*). For *ἱμερόντας* of *χορούς* cf. *χορὸν ἱμερόντα*: *Od.* 18.194 (line end); and (*πολλὸς δ'*) *ἱμερόντα χορὸν . . .*: *Il.* 18.603, where the words have the same line position as in *Th.* 8 and 7 respectively.

⁸ *περιστεναχίζετο ποσσίν*: *Od.* 23.146.

⁹ *Il.* 21.549, 3.381 (20.444): *κεκάλυπτο* (*ἐκάλυψε*) *δ' ἄρ' ἡέρι πολλῇ*. — *ἡέρι πολλῇ*: *Il.* 11.752, 21.549 and 597; acc.: *Il.* 7.269.

¹⁰ Made up of words in favored line positions and perhaps fortuitous, but cf. *ἐννύχαι κατάγοντο*: *Od.* 3.178; *ἐννύχιος προμολών*: *Il.* 21.37; cf. also *ἐννύχιοι προτὶ ἄστυ*: *Il.* 11.683 (verb of motion implied). Phrases with *στείχω* show variously the adverbial and subject elements implicit in *ἐννύχαι*; cf. *ἡ ἀν' ὁδὸν στείχαν*: *Od.* 23.136; *κοῦροι ἄμα στείχον*: *Il.* 9.86.

¹¹ *περικαλλέα δῖφρον ἔχοντες*: *Il.* 17.436; *π. τεύχε' ἔποντα*: *Il.* 6.321; *π. τεύχε' αἰέρας*: *Od.* 24.165. — *ὄσσαν ιεῖσαι*: *Th.* 43 (*αἱ δ' ἄμβροτον ὁ. ἰ.*) 65, 67, all with descriptive adjective earlier in the line.

¹² *ὑμνήσῃ μάκαράς τε θεούς*: *Th.* 101 — *Δία τ' αἰγίοχον*: (all parallels begin at the third-foot caesura) *Διὸς αἰγίοχου*, *Od.* 9.275; *Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίοχος* (*καὶ*), *Il.* 8.287 and *Od.* 15.245.

¹³ Nom. only: *Il.* 1.551 (4.50, 16.439, 18.360, 20.309), 1.586, 8.198, 218, and 471, 13.826, 14.159, 197, 222, 263, 300 (329, 19.106), 15.34, 49, 83, 100, 149, 18.239 and 357; *Od.* 4.513.

¹⁴ *χρυσέησιν ἐθείρησιν κομόωντε*: *Il.* 8.42 (13.24); *χρυσέοισιν ἄορτήρεσσιν ἀρηρός*: *Il.* 11.31; *χρυσέοισιν ἐπὶ κλισμοῖσι καθίζον*: *Il.* 8.436. — *χρυσέοισι πεδίλοις*: *χρυσέοισι κυπέλλοις*, *Il.* 9.670; *χρυσέῃ προχόῳ*, *Th.* 785. — *πεδίλοις ἐμβεβαῖαν*: cf. *καὶ ἄρμασιν ἐμβεβαῶτα*: *Il.* 5.199.

¹⁵ *Il.* 10.553 (nom.) — *κούρη* plus father's name frequent; cf. *κούρην Μίνωος Ὀλοόφρονος*: *Od.* 11.322. — *αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς*: *Th.* 920, *Il.* 1.202, 222, 2.157 (5.714, 21.420), 5.115, 693, 8.352 and 427, 10.278, *Od.* 4.762, 6.324. — *γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην*: *Th.* 888, *Od.* 1.156; nom. extremely frequent: *Th.* 573, *Op.* 72, *Il.* 28 ×, *Od.* 51 ×.

¹⁶ Admitted as a special exception: no exact metrical parallel, but *Ἀπόλλωνᾶ* (-ας, -ι) to the feminine caesura is found without an epithet preceding several times, once in a line otherwise identical to this (*Th.* 918: see next note); see also *Il.* 1.86, 15.143; gen.: *Il.* 1.75, *Od.* 9.198; dat.: *Il.* 1.315, 4.101, 119. *Φοῖβον* etc. filling a spondaic foot, however, does not occur. The usual phrase is

Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνᾱ to the masc. caesura: *Il.* 15.256; gen.: *Il.* 5.509, 9.405 and 560, *Od.* 9.201.

¹⁷ *Th.* 918 (Ἀητῶ δ' . . .). — καὶ Ἀρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα (always nom.): *Il.* 5.447; without καί: *Il.* 5.53, 6.428, 20.39 (ἡδ'), 20.71 (at beginning of line), 24.606, *Od.* 11.172, 15.478.

¹⁸ *Il.* 13.43 (ἀλλὰ . . .; nom.). — ἡδὲ Ποσειδάων γαμήροχος (always nom.): *Il.* 20.34, *Od.* 1.68 (ἀλλὰ . . .), 8.322 (ἦλθε . . .). — γαμήροχον ἐννοσίγαιον: *Il.* 23.584; nom.: *Il.* 13.59 and 667, 15.222, *Od.* 11.241; dat.: *Il.* 9.183, 14.355.

¹⁹ θεῶν γένος αἰδοῖον: *Th.* 44; παρθένος αἰδοίη: *Il.* 2.514 (dat.: *Th.* 572, *Op.* 71); ξείνους αἰδοίους: *Od.* 19.316; μητρὶ παρ' αἰδοίη: *Od.* 8.420; ὦ γύναι αἰδοίη: *Od.* 17.152 (19.165, 262, 336, 583).

²⁰ Φοῖβην τε χρυσοστέφανον: *Th.* 136, which continues . . . Τηθύν τ' ἐρατεινήν (cf. next note).

²¹ καλὴν τ' Ἀριάδην: *Od.* 11.321; καλὴν Ἐπικάστην: *Od.* 11.271; in nom. with other female names: Πολυδῶρη: *Il.* 16.175; Πολυμήλη: 16.180; Πολυκάστη: *Od.* 3.464; dat.: Κλεοπάτρη: *Il.* 9.556; with common nouns (*Od.* only): καλὴν τε τράπεζαν: 8.69; κ. τρυφάλειαν: 22.183; gen.: κ. ἁλοσύδνης: 4.404; cf. καλῆς ἐπ' ἀπῆρης: 6.252. — ἐρατὴ τε Διώνη: *Th.* 353. Cf. also preceding note.

²² Ἀητῶ τε Εἰάνθος τε: *Il.* 20.40. For the name of Leto in this line position see also *Th.* 918, *Il.* 1.9, and for that of Iapetos as here, *Th.* 507.

²³ Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης (always nom.): *Th.* 137, 168, 473, 495, *Il.* 4.59.

²⁴ *Th.* 371 (Θεία δ' . . .). For the line pattern cf. also *Th.* 20, following — Ἥῳ τ' Ἡελίον τε: *Il.* 5.267, 12.239, *Od.* 9.26, 13.240 (always at end of line). — Ἥελίον τε μέγαν: Ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν: *Th.* 20; ἀμφ' Αἴαντα μέγαν: *Il.* 11.591; cf. also ἀλλὰ θεός τε μέγας: *Il.* 19.410; and (αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ') Αἴας τε μέγας: *Il.* 9.169.

²⁵ Cf. (πόντος) τ' Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοαὶ καὶ (τάρταρα γαίης): *Th.* 841; and Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καί: *Od.* 24.11. Ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν echoes Ἥελίον τε μέγαν in preceding line (see note for analogous phrases); μέγας, very common in this position, is an easy substitution for the pleonastic ῥοαί (-as). Cf. the whole line pattern with that of the preceding line. — τε μέγαν καί: *Il.* 19.410 and 9.169 (see preceding note) are continued by καί, so that they include this entity: on the character of this unit see below, n. 30 and text ad loc.

²⁶ *Th.* 481, 788, *Il.* 10.297, 394, 468, 24.366 (653), and (2d-3d ft.) 8.486; dat.: *Il.* 8.502 (9.65), *Od.* 7.253 (14.314), 12.271.

²⁷ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων: *Od.* 4.34; ἄλλους τε Τρῶας: *Il.* 4.36.

²⁸ *Th.* 105. — cf. also ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν λέχος: *Th.* 57, 939. — αἰὲν ἐόντων: *Od.* 3.147, 4.583; acc.: *Od.* 1.263 and 378 (2.143), 8.365, all but once (*Od.* 4.583) after θεῶν (-ούς) ending at B caesura, as ἀθανάτων here; also in nom. and voc. with θεοί immediately preceding: *Il.* 1.290 and 494, 21.518, 24.99, *Od.* 5.7 (8.306, 12.371 and 377).

²⁹ Not marked, but similar phrases common here, e.g., ὅς (οἱ) ῥα τότε: *Il.* 3.187, 4.378, 11.231, 13.646; οἷ ῥα καί: *Od.* 8.225, 11.313; καὶ νύ κεν: *Th.* 836; καὶ νῦν τάδ': *Op.* 268.

³⁰ λιγυρὴν καταχεύει' αἰοιδὴν: *Op.* 583; λιγυρὴν δ' ἔντυνον αἰοιδὴν: *Od.* 12.183; λιγυρῆς ἐπέβησαν αἰοιδῆς: *Op.* 659; ταύτης δ' ἀποπαύει' αἰοιδῆς: *Od.* 1.340; λιγυρῇ θέλγουσιν αἰοιδῇ: *Od.* 12.44.

³¹ No firm parallel, but cf. ἧ Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέιο: *Th.* 6; also γνάλοισ ὑπο Παρνησοῖο: *Th.* 499.

³² τόνδε δ' ἐγώ(ν): *Il.* 5.238, *Od.* 5.546.

³³ Cf. τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ (καὶ γαῖα γέγοντο): *Th.* 108; and πρῶτιστα θεῶν (ἰλάσσομ' Ἀθήνην): *Od.* 3.419, where the phrase, fused of words in highly favored positions, anticipates and acts as surrogate, as here, for the thought that follows. See further above, n. 20, and below, n. 34 and text ad loc. The line can also be articulated in two (four) parts, with πρῶτιστα and the first half having a kind of analogue in *Il.* 5.238 (see preceding note): τόνδε δ' ἔγων ἐπιδόντα (δεδέξομαι ὀξεί δουρί); with θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπον as the second half then cf., e.g., θεοὶ προπάρειθεν ἔθνηκαν: *Op.* 289; θεαὶ δέ μιν ἀμφαγέροντο: *Il.* 18.37; (με) θεοὶ θάνατόνδε κάλεσσαν: *Il.* 22.297. The frequent occurrence of θεός in this favored position plus a verb in the common end position, as above, tends to weld such a collocation into a unit.

³⁴ (Always sing.) *Op.* 206, *Il.* 2.59, 156, 5.632, 6.381, 7.46, 8.280, 426, 10.140, 11.329, 440, 522, 13.306, 14.189, 15.13 23.68 (24.682), 23.235, 24.485, *Od.* 4.803 (6.21, 20.32, 23.4), 14.492, 15.45, 16.460, 17.74, 414, 495 (18.169), 19.96, 20.261, 23.165. — μῦθον ἔειπον: *Il.* 19.85, *Od.* 10.561, 12.319; sing.: *Il.* 1.552 (2d person; line repeated 5 × later), 3.303, 8.208 (2d person), 9.173, 623, 10.318, 20.114, 292, 24.777, *Od.* 18.422, 22.207, 24.213 and 513.

³⁵ *Th.* 52, 966, 1022; cf. Μοῦσαι (αἰδοῖεν), κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο: *Il.* 2.598. — κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο: *Il.* 6.420, *Od.* 6.105, 9.154. — κοῦραι Διὸς (voc.): *Od.* 13.356, 17.240; also, as the preceding, with various forms of κούρη, sing., in Homer. — Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο: *Th.* 735, *Il.* 2.348 and 491, 5.396 and 815, 7.60, 11.66, 15.175, 22.221.

The high degree of formulaic density in this passage — I calculate 72 percent formula and formulaic with 38.3 percent straight formula (on the basis of the Hesiodic corpus alone the figures are roughly 41 percent and under 22 percent respectively) — is largely the result of the sizeable proportion of divine names and epithets. It is in fact a hymn, with a highly conservative and traditional language that has echoes in Homer and elsewhere in Hesiod alike; it probably reflects as well as any an aspect of the tradition shared by all singers. Yet it tells of, or initiates, one of the most personal experiences of the poet, his encounter with the Muses. Line 24, which introduces their words to him, is built out of the most ordinary traditional language, yet it is articulated in a way that is particularly Hesiodic, of which we shall see more later, and is instinct with the dignity of his feeling of the moment.

By Lord's criteria this passage is clearly oral. But the passage from the Titanomachy is a bit less clear, with only 60.7 percent formula and formulaic and (somewhat better) 35.3 percent straight formula (by the sole standard of the Hesiodic corpus the figures are roughly 27 percent and less than 17 percent).

Theogony 676–700

676	Τιτῆνες δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἑκαρτύναντο	F	F & F
	<u>φάλαγγας¹</u>	$\frac{3}{4}$	I

	προφρονέως, ¹ χειρῶν τε βίης θ' ἅμα ¹ ἔργον ἔφαινον ²	—	$\frac{1}{4}$
	ἀμφοτέροι· ¹ δεινὸν δέ ³ περίαχε ¹ πόντος ἀπείρων, ⁴	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
	γῇ δέ μέγ' ¹ ἔσμαράγῃσεν, ἐπέστενε δ' ¹ οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ⁵	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
680	σειόμενος, ¹ πεδόθεν δέ τινάσσετο ¹ μακρὸς Ὀλυμπος ⁶	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
	ρίπῃ ὕπ' ¹ ἀθανάτων, ἔνοσις δ' ⁷ ἔκανε βαρεῖα ⁸	$\frac{2}{3}$	1
	Τάρταρον ¹ ἡερόεντα, ⁹ ποδῶν τ' αἰπεῖα ἰωή	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
	ἀσπέτου ¹ ἰωχμοῖο βολάων ¹ τε κρατεράων. ὥς ἄρ' (ἐπ' ¹) ἀλλήλοισ ¹⁰ ἔεσαν	—	—
	βέλεα στονόεντα. ¹¹	$\frac{2}{3}$	1
685	φωνή δ' ¹ ἀμφοτέρων ¹² ἔκετ' οὐρανὸν ¹ ἀστερόεντα ¹³	$\frac{1}{2}$	1
	κεκλομένων· οἱ δέ ξύνισαν μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ. ¹⁴	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$
	οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι ¹⁵ Ζεὺς ἴσχευ ἐὼν μένος. ¹⁶	$\frac{1}{2}$	1
	ἀλλὰ νυ τοῦ γε ¹⁷	$\frac{1}{2}$	1
	εἴθαρ μὲν ¹ μένεος πληντο φρένες, ¹⁸	—	$\frac{3}{4}$
	ἐκ δέ τε πᾶσαν ¹⁹	—	$\frac{3}{4}$
	φαῖνε βίην· ¹ ἄμυδις δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἡδ' · ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου ²⁰	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
690	ἀστράπτων ¹ ἔστειχε συνωχадόν· ¹ οἱ δέ κεραυνοὶ ²¹	—	$\frac{1}{4}$
	ἔκταρ ἅμα ¹ βροντῇ τε καὶ ἀστεροπῇ ποτέοντο	—	—
	χειρὸς ἀπο ¹ στιβαρῆς, ²² ἱερὴν φλόγα	$\frac{5}{6}$	1
	εἰλυφόντες ²³	$\frac{5}{6}$	1
	ταρφέες· ¹ ἀμφὶ δέ γαῖα φερέσβιος ¹ ἔσμαράγιζε	—	—
	καιομένη, ¹ λάκε δ' ἀμφὶ πυρὶ μεγάλ' ¹ ἄσπετος ὕλη. ²⁴	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
695	ἔζεε δέ ¹ χθὼν πᾶσα ²⁵ καὶ Ὠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα ²⁶	1	1
	πόντος τ' ¹ ἀτρύγετος. ²⁷ τοὺς δ' ἄμφεπε ¹ θερμὸς αὐτμῇ ²⁸	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$

Τιτῆνας ¹	χθονίους,	(φλόξ δ')	αἰθέρα	διαν		
ἴκανεν ²⁹					$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
ἄσπετος,	ὄσσε δ' ἄμερδε ³⁰		καὶ ἰφθίμων περ			
εόντων ³¹					$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
αὐγῇ	μαρμαίρουσα ³²		κεραυνου	τε		
στεροπῆς τε ³³					—	$\frac{1}{2}$
700 καῦμα δὲ	θεσπέσιον		κάτεχεν	Χάος ³⁴		
εἶσατο δ' ἄντα ³⁵					—	$\frac{1}{14\frac{1}{2}}$
					$\frac{8\frac{5}{6}}$	

¹ (Ἀργεῖοι) δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας: *Il.* 11.215 (12.415); cf. (οἱ δ' ἐπεί ἄμφ')οτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας: *Il.* 16.563 — Proper name + ἐτέρωθεν is extremely frequent (24 ×) in Homer, always (except for Ἀργεῖοι above and in *Il.* 7.419 and 13.835, and Τρῶες [-ας] δ' αὖθ' in *Il.* 8.55, 11.56 [20.3], 14.388, 18.243) with the name of an individual.

² ἔργον ὀφέλλει: *Op.* 412; ἔ. ἀέξη: *Od.* 14.65; ἔ. ἔποιεν: *Od.* 14.195; ἔργα τελευτοῖ: *Th.* 89; ἔ. ἰδυῖαι: *Th.* 264; ἔ. νέμονται: *Op.* 231; ἔ. πένεσθαι: *Op.* 773. The plural is quite frequent in the *Iliad* (9 ×) and the *Odyssey* (14 ×). Cf. σήματα φαίνων: *Il.* 2.353, 4.381, 9.239.

³ (Adverbial) *Il.* 3.337 (11.42, 15.481, 16.138, *Od.* 22.124); cf. (pred. adj.) *Th.* 743, *Od.* 16.401.

⁴ Cf. πόντος ἀπήμων (pred. adj.): *Op.* 670. — ('Ελλήσ)ποντος ἀπείρων: *Il.* 24.545; δῆμος ἀπείρων: 24.776.

⁵ Cf. ἐπεστενάχιζε δὲ γαῖα: *Th.* 843 (also ἐπεστονάχησε δὲ λίμνη: *Il.* 24.79; ἐπεστενάχοντο δ' ἑταῖροι: *Il.* 4.154. — οὐρανὸς εὐρύς: (always acc. in this position elsewhere): *Th.* 746, *Il.* 3.364, 5.867, 7.178 (7.201), 19.257, 21.272, *Od.* 5.303. In other line positions: 4th–5th ft., nom.: *Th.* 45, 110, 702, 840, *Il.* 15.36, *Od.* 5.184; acc.: *Th.* 373, *Il.* 8.74, 20.299, 21.267, and 5.22; *Od.* 19 × (e.g., 1.67); 2d–3d ft., acc.: *Il.* 15.192.

⁶ Cf. τῖνασσε δὲ χάλκεον ἔγκος: *Il.* 20.163; τινάσσων φάσανον ὀξύ: *Il.* 22.311; τινάξασθην πτερὰ πυκνά: *Od.* 2.151. — μακρὸς Ὀλυμπος: *Il.* 15.193; acc.: *Th.* 391, *Il.* 1.402, 2.48, 5.398, 8.199, 8.410 (15.79), 15.21, 18.142, 24.468, 24.694, *Od.* 10.307, 15.43, 20.73, 24.351.

⁷ *Th.* 849.

⁸ ἔριδα ῥήγγυντο βαρεῖαν: *Il.* 20.55; ἄτη ἐνέδησε βαρεῖν: *Il.* 2.111 (9.18).

⁹ At line end: *Th.* 721 (723a), *Il.* 8.13; gen.: *Th.* 736, 807; at beginning: Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα: *Th.* 119.

¹⁰ ὥς ἄρ' followed by a word beginning with ἐφ-: so always, e.g., ὥς ἄρ' ἔφαν (*Il.* 3.161 et al.), ... ἔφη (2.265 et al.), ... ἐφώνησεν (*Od.* 10.229 et al.), so that ὥς ἄρ' ἐπ' (ἐφ-) emerges as a natural collocation. Cf. ... ἐπ' ἀλλήλους: *Od.* 9.129; οἱ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι(ν): *Il.* 3.132 (this longer form frequent also in 3d–5th ft. in Homer); cf. also in this position ... ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις: *Op.* 34. For a parallel to the pattern of the line as a whole see next note.

¹¹ ἔσαν βέλεα στονόνετα: cf. (αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄλλοις) ἐφίει βέλεα στονόνετα: *Od.* 24.180, and the pattern of the whole line mirrored there. For the verb in this position and general sense, cf. also, from feminine caesura, ἔει χαλκῆρε' ὀϊστόν:

Il. 13.650; *ἔει κακότητα βαρεῖαν*: *Il.* 10.71. — *βέλεα στονόεντα*: also *Il.* 17.374 and, in 3d–5th ft., *Il.* 8.159 (15.590).

¹² Note for the pattern of the whole line as well as the initial phrase *ἡχὴ δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔκειτ' αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς ἀγῆας*: *Il.* 13.837. *φωνή*, *ἡχὴ* and *ἀμφοτέρων* tend to be localized in these positions: the collocation may be fortuitous. Cf. further *φωνῇ δὲ βροτέῃ*: *Od.* 19.545; *καῦμα δ' ὕπ' ἀμφοτέρων*: *Th.* 844.

¹³ *οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα*: *Th.* 470, *Il.* 15.371, 19.128, *Od.* 9.527, 11.17; gen: *Th.* 106, 463, 737, 808, 891, *Op.* 548, *Il.* 5.769 (8.46), 6.108, 19.130, *Od.* 20.113; dat.: *Il.* 4.44. For the preceding *ἔκειτ'* in a similar sense and context see especially *Il.* 13.837 (preceding note). Other forms of the verb starting from this point and followed by a like construction are found in *Od.* 17.121, 9.79, *Il.* 18.544, but elsewhere the concluding formula is preceded here by a preposition or *καί*.

¹⁴ *Il.* 14.393; cf. *οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἀνῆϊξαν μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ*: *Od.* 24.463. — *μεγάλῳ ἀλαλητῷ* also *Il.* 12.138.

¹⁵ *οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι (δῆν)* [cf. *Ζῆν'*: *Ζεύς*, which follows here]: *Od.* 2.36; elsewhere fills last two feet: *Il.* 6.139, 8.126, 23.690; *Od.* 2.296, 397, 17.72.

¹⁶ Cf. *Ζεύς θῆκε κακὸν μῶρον*: *Il.* 6.357 — *Ζεύς ἴσχευ*: the following, with their preceding elements in parentheses, are instructive: (*πάντες ἅμα*), *Ζεύς δ' ἦρχε*: *Il.* 1.495; (*αὐτὰρ ἄρα*) *Ζεύς δῶκε*: *Il.* 2.103; (*ὄρκια δὲ*) *Ζεύς ἴστω*: *Il.* 7.411; (*αἶ κέ ποθι*) *Ζεύς δῶσι*: *Od.* 1.379 (2.144); (*οὕτω νῦν*) *Ζεύς θεῖη*: *Od.* 8.465 (15.180); (*ἀλλὰ τά γε*) *Ζεύς οἶδεν*: *Od.* 15.523. — *ἔδον μένος*: *Th.* 853 (with *Ζεύς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν κόρυθεν* preceding, at a like point in the narrative: see the comment in West's edition [Oxford, 1966] on *Th.* 687); also *τεδὸν μένος* preceded by forms of *παύω* (cf. *ἴσχευ* here) that fill the length either of the verb segment here itself or of the whole unit: *Il.* 1.282 (*παῦε*), 21.340 (*ἀπόπανε*); *ἔμον μένος*: *Od.* 9.457, 19.493 (2d–3d ft.); (*παύσουσα*) *τὸ σὸν μένος*: *Il.* 1.207; *τὸ δν μένος*: *Il.* 21.305 (with *ἔληγε* preceding), 22.459, *Od.* 11.515.

¹⁷ *ἀλλὰ νυ καὶ τῶν*: *Op.* 513; *ἀλλὰ νυ καὶ τά*: *Op.* 684.

¹⁸ *μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες (ἀμφιμέλαιναι | πίμπλαντ')*: *Il.* 1.103(–4), *Od.* 4.661(–2); here *μέγα*, appearing in a highly favored position (for this word here see on *Th.* 20 above, and n. 30 below), acts as a surrogate for the later verb.

¹⁹ Cf. *ἐν δέ τε φόρτον (οἶνον)*: *Op.* 631, *Od.* 20.252; with final word as subject: *ἐν δέ τε θυμός*: *Il.* 16.162, 17.744, *Od.* 13.244; cf. also (subject) *ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ (ὄσσε)*: *Il.* 1.188, 19.366, 21.571; *Il.* 19.16, *Od.* 6.131, 10.247. And cf. the further extension (object of prep.): *ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμων (ὄσσων)*: *Th.* 824, 826. For *πᾶσαν* in this position followed by verb and noun in next line cf. *ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσας | ἔπρεσε θεσπεσίας κεφαλᾶς*: *Th.* 855–56 (note similar context); cf. also *ἐσθλὰ δὲ πάντα | τοῖσιν ἔην* (cf. assonance with *φαῖνε βίην* here): *Op.* 116–117; and without a following noun, *ὅς τ᾽ ὅδε πάντα | εἰδὼς (ἐργάζῃται)*: *Op.* 826–827.

²⁰ *ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ*: *Th.* 414, 820, and in the phrase *ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος*: *Op.* 548, *Il.* 19.130, *Od.* 20.113. The anaphoric phrase in the text appears to be a conflation of this with *ἀπ' (αἰγλήεντος) Ὀλύμπου*: *Il.* 1.532, 13.243, *Od.* 20.103; both are used in close proximity in *Od.* 20 (113 and 103) with *ἐβρόντησεν* (–σας), which recalls *ἀστράπτων* following here. Repetition for emphasis is common in Hesiod (for prepositions cf., e.g., *Th.* 447 [ἐκ], 434/430 [ἐν], 848 [ἀμφί]), and *ἦδ'* appears in this position in more than half of its occurrences in Hesiod (8 out of 15).

²¹ οἱ δέ τε λαοί: *Th.* 84; οἱ(αἱ) δέ τε ἵπποι: *Il.* 23.500, 392; οἱ δέ καὶ αὐτοί: *Il.* 5.520, *Od.* 1.33, 2.168.

²² *Il.* 14.455, 23.843.

²³ For *ἱερὸν* etc. + noun and governing verb note *ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνων* (-βάσα): *Th.* 57, 939; *ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν*: *Il.* 16.100; *ἱερὸν πολλοῖσθρον ἐλόντες*: *Od.* 9.165. For (*κεραυνοῖ*[690] / . . .) φλόγα εἰλυφόωτες see (*ἄνεμος*) *φλόγα εἰλυφάζει*: *Il.* 20.492.

²⁴ *Il.* 2.455, 23.127, 24.784 (acc. only).

²⁵ *Th.* 847 (with *καί* following). — *χθών πάσα* also *Il.* 2.780 (4th–5th ft.).

²⁶ *Il.* 23.205 (*ἐπ'* . . .).

²⁷ *πόντῳ ἐν ἀτρύγετῳ*: *Th.* 241; *πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον*: *Od.* 2.370, 5.84 (158), 140, 7.79, 13.419, 17.289; cf. also, in 2d–4th ft., *ἀτρύγετον πόντον*: *Il.* 15.27.

²⁸ Cf. (*ἀμφήλυθεν*) *ἡδὺς αὐτῇ*: *Od.* 12.369; and the interesting sound echo in (*ἀμφήλυθε*) *θῆλυς αὐτῇ* earlier in the poem (6.122); see Parry, *L'ép. tr.* (above, n. 11) 90–91, and Michael Nagler, "Towards a Generative View of the Oral Formula," *TAPA* 98 (1967) 274 and n. 11: *ἄμφεπε* here has a similar meaning and may be an equivalent formulaic word for use with a long monosyllabic pronoun object (*τοῖς* here) to fill the half line from the masculine caesura.

²⁹ Cf. *ὁ δ' ἐς αἰθέρα διαν ἄερθη*: *Od.* 19.540. *αἰθέρ' ἵκανε* (the verb itself extremely frequent here in Homer) appears several times in the *Iliad*: 14.288, 15.686, 18.207 (*ἵκηται*), 18.214 and 379. The present collocation is probably a conflation of this with the pattern seen in *ἐπὶ χθόνα διαν ἐλαύνει*: *Il.* 24.532; *Ἥλιδα διαν ἔβαιον*: *Il.* 2.615; *Ἥῳ διαν ἔμμυνεν*: *Il.* 9.662, *Od.* 19.50. For *αἰθέρα διαν* see further West's commentary on this line, and below, n. 36; it is equivalent to, but never found in, the line-end position from the C caesura. For *φλόξ* see text below.

³⁰ *Il.* 13.340 (at line end): subject *αὐγὴ* (*χαλκείη*) follows at the beginning of the next line: cf. *αὐγὴ μαρμαίρουσα* here (699).

³¹ Acc. sing.: *Op.* 704, *Il.* 16.620; dat.: *Il.* 12.410 (20.356).

³² Cf. *αὐγὴ* (*χαλκείη*): *Il.* 13.341 (not metrically exact, but see note on line 698 above). — *τεύχεα μαρμαίροντα*: *Il.* 18.617; *μαρμαίροντα*, in a favored position here, is predominantly used as a second adjective in the combination *χάλκεα μαρμαίροντα* (*Il.* 16.664, 18.131, 23.27).

³³ Not marked as formulaic: no good parallels, though a common pattern. The nearest is *βροντὴν τε στεροπὴν τε*: *Th.* 286, 707, 854 (and as a proper name, 140), always at the beginning of the line. *κεραυνόν* is added to the pair in 707 and 854.

³⁴ *καῦμα δ' ὕπ' ἀμφοτέρων κάτεχεν* (*ιοιδεία πόντον*): *Th.* 844; cf. for general sense and pattern, as well as final phrase, *νύξ δὲ μάλα δνοφερὴ κάτεχ' οὐρανόν* (cf. *κάτεχεν Χάος* here): *Od.* 13.269. — *καῦμα δὲ θεσπέσιον*: *ἄτμῃ θεσπεσίῃ*: *Th.* 862; *ἡχῇ θεσπεσίῃ*: *Il.* 8.159 (15.590), 12.252, 13.834, 15.355, 16.769, 23.213, *Od.* 3.150, 11.63; cf. *θεσπεσίῳ δ' ὁμάδῳ*: *Il.* 13.797; *θεσπεσίῃ ἰοχῇ*: *Od.* 11.43.

³⁵ Cf. *εἶσατο δέ σφι*: *Il.* 24.319; *εἶσατο γάρ οἱ*: *Od.* 5.283.

The choice of this passage as a base for comparison with Homeric battle scenes has yielded a few suggestive results. Its theme is as much that of a struggle with monsters as anything and proceeds along much the same lines, with some similarity of language, as the encounter with

Typhoeus some hundred lines or so later. The most significant of its formular phrasing is a combination of elements found also in Homeric battle scenes (676, 684, 685, 686, 692, cf. 697) and in the Typhoeus episode (681, 695, 700, cf. 679). Two lines of the latter (681 and 700) fall into lengths that do not fit the normal formular metrical articulation, with segments appropriate to the first two cola of three-part lines appearing without formular justification in four-part lines; this is unparalleled and is open to charges of literary imitation that might be used to support arguments for spuriousness of the Typhoeus episode.²⁸ There is another way of accounting for them, as we shall see, that underscores an important phenomenon in Hesiod's handling of the tradition. The rather low proportion of combined formula and formulaic phrases (60.7 percent as against 72 percent in *Th.* 1-25, and on top of a good figure of 35.3 percent straight formula here) is suggestive of a greater reliance on ready-made phrases both in this passage and in the Typhoeus episode. But parallels with the latter are inevitable, whatever method of composition we assume, and prove nothing. I would suggest that the dropping off of analogical formations here is indicative of no deficiency in the poet, but of our lack for comparison of the larger body of similar narrative material which must have existed in the tradition.

The first passage, then, shows that Hesiod could express his personal experiences quite comfortably in a traditional language shared with Homer; the second suggests that he drew quite naturally and, for the most part, in a way one might expect from the tradition of Homer and from another, possibly his own, for apparently traditional episodes that overlap the Homeric only in part. Much of his use of the hexameter and its traditional language was distinct. To what degree and in what way this was so we can only begin to judge after we have surveyed what we have learned about measuring and understanding the articulation of formular composition of the hexameter line generally from the analyses of the passages above.

It is first of all clear and understandable that formulaic density is largely concentrated in the second half line. This follows from the concentration and use of noun-epithet formulas familiar from Parry's work, and it follows from the assumption of oral composition itself: the poet draws more heavily on ready-to-hand phrases to complete his line. But the fact has not been emphasized enough and has not been so graphically evident in earlier formula analysis. In the Hesiodic passages

²⁸ See West's edition (Oxford, 1966) 381ff for a summary and refutation of these arguments.

formulas are roughly only half as frequent in the first half line as in the second, and what do occur are likely to be part of a whole formulaic line or one that is nearly whole but fitted with a new beginning, formulas otherwise identified with the line-end position (*Th.* 19, 682, 698), or phrases that are clearly introductory (*Th.* 684 [see notes], 687, cf. 22).

The articulation of the line at the A, B, and C caesuras, with some influence from the caesura of the fourth foot, especially in three-part lines, has been noted earlier. These points are simply the more obvious evidences of the poet's use of an underlying pattern which tradition and habit have imposed on his line. We shall, then, briefly survey the evidence in our analyses to see how often the formulaic breaks coincide with the caesural breaks, primarily in the four-part line, but with a close look at how these may be related to articulation of a three-part line. I here pass over consideration of half-line units and the unit from the C caesura to the end as too obvious to need support. The evidence does not, of course, pretend to be exhaustive; it will have served its purpose if it shows the close correlation between the formulaic phrase (and its parts) and the colon unit.

Line beginning — A caesura. Here we have the introductory formulas noted above. This space too is precisely that which is altered in lines that are otherwise complete formulas in themselves or made up of complete formulas: *Th.* 11, 14, 19, 21; cf. 676, where the first word is regularly a variable name; 13, in which the first word is paralleled only once elsewhere though the other elements are quite frequent; and 20, which is more formulaic than formula but has instructive parallels.

A caesura — B caesura. In addition to a few formulaic expressions running to the C caesura which have their first element here (*Th.* 12, 688; cf. 20; which, though marked as a three-part line, is one of those with ambiguous articulations into four parts), there are a few phrases fitted precisely to this unit: ὄσσε δ' ἄμερδε (elsewhere at line end) in 698, and δεινὸν δέ (678), which for all its brevity emerges as a significant sentence beginning in this position; cf. also the formulaic expression Ζεὺς ἴσχευ (Zeus + verb -ν) in 687, a class that is frequently preceded, as here, by an introductory phrase filling the unit before the A caesura.

Before turning to the difficult question of the unit extending from the B to the C caesura, and especially the nature of the caesura of the fourth foot, which frequently obscures the character of this segment, we must look at two cases in which the formulaic material of the second half line appears to start at the beginning of the fourth foot, which is only very exceptionally a caesural break and should have no part in

defining a unit. The first case, in 685, is fairly simple: οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα (in all oblique cases) occurs in this position sixteen times elsewhere, always with either a preposition or καί preceding to carry it back to the B caesura, a good example, incidentally, of the flexibility to be allowed a formula in adapting to its context (cf. Ὀκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα in 695, here connected to the preceding with καί, but in *Il.* 23.205 with ἐπ'). The use of ἵκετ' here instead of such a filler was doubtless suggested by a line like *Il.* 13.837, where the idea is similar and the verb entirely appropriate to the articulation of the line: ἡχὴ δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἵκετ' αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς ἀνγὰς. The other case, in line 697, is less clear cut but shows the same tendency to insert meaningful words where Homer used fillers or connectives: φλόξ δ' αἰθέρα διὰν ἵκανε²⁹ has its nearest Homeric parallel in ὁ δ' ἐς αἰθέρα διὰν ἄερθῃ (*Od.* 19.540), other analogues in τε καὶ Ἥλιδα διὰν ἔναιον (*Il.* 2.615) and (from the feminine caesura) καὶ Ἡῶ διὰν ἔμιμνεν (*Il.* 9.662, *Od.* 19.50). Here the heat from the conflagration enkindles a φλόξ like that from which it began (φλόγα: 692); even with the intervening αὐτμῇ Hesiod might conceivably have said ἡ δ' or even τε καὶ here, but he preferred the vivid simplicity of φλόξ δ': the word is, moreover, apparently strongly associated with this thematic context: it is uppermost in his mind later in the concept of flame shooting up from the fallen Typhoeus (as here, by implication, from the *Τιτῆνας χθονίους*) and there has its proper prominent place at the beginning of the line (*Th.* 859). Far from showing disintegration, Hesiod's use of traditional language in these phrases gives evidence, I believe, of a different kind of mastery, directed toward fuller exploitation of the patterns in which they are set, for greater concentration of expression.

B caesura — C caesura. A few noun-epithet formulas fit here; see *Th.* 5 and 687, cf. 21 and 689. But aside from this and its frequent use for the first word of a formulaic phrase extending to the line end, it is an area to which "filler" and connective words tend to gravitate. I find, in a random sampling of a few lines in *Iliad* 4, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ (307), νῦν αὐτέ με (321), καὶ εἰ δέκα (347), καὶ αἶ κεν (353). But it is also the area where the caesura of the fourth foot may occur, and in the lines that most concern us such fillers or connectives tend to gravitate to the space from that point to the C caesura or before it from the B caesura. In one instance we have an example of both, τε μέγαν | καί

²⁹ I read αἰθέρα here with West and Rzach as against ἡέρα in the manuscripts and Solmsen; not only the meaning of the word but the formulaic associations demand it.

(*Th.* 20).³⁰ The utility of a unit of this nature, or rather of the elements that cluster to form it, should be obvious. They make it possible to fit formulas designed for four-part lines into a three-part line, in which the fourth-foot caesura is the determining break (so *Th.* 11, 20, 19), and those with formulas fitted for three-part lines into a four-part line (*Th.* 18, 684, 692). And they make it possible for such lines to be felt with both rhythmic patterns simultaneously, as is true to a greater or lesser degree here. Even a true three-part line like *Th.* 11 (ὕμνεῖσαι Δία τ' αἰγίοχον καὶ πότνιαν Ἥρην) can admit a formula (πότνιαν Ἥρην) made for a four-part line. Here the familiar noun-epithet formula at the end is carried back from the C caesura, for which it was created, to the fourth-foot caesural break common to such three-part lines. In *Th.* 20, whose word ends could admit a B caesura (Γαῖάν τ' Ὠκεανόν τε) but whose sense falls into three parts, with the second element prolonged by μέγαν to the three-part caesural division in the fourth foot (Ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν), the conjunction is used in the same way to articulate a like noun-epithet formula into the three-part pattern (... καὶ Νύκτα μέλαιναν). It is particularly interesting and instructive that the parallels for the καί in both these lines are found in the parallels for the phrases that precede them. The filler character of μέγαν here between the B and fourth-foot caesuras is paralleled and confirmed in the similar pattern of the preceding line (19). Here it is attached to Ἡὼ τ' Ἡέλιόν τε, a well-defined unit in itself and elsewhere used only at the end of the line, to shift the sense break from the B caesura which would normally be felt at this point to the fourth-foot caesura, where it creates a natural three-part articulation of the line: Ἡὼ τ' | Ἡέλιόν τε μέγαν | λαμπράν τε Σελήνην.

The second kind of line for which filler words associated with the fourth-foot caesura are useful is that which ends with a formula extending from the fourth-foot caesura to the end of the line, and so is appropriate to three-part division, but in which other elements make a

³⁰ M. Edwards (above, n. 21) 158–167 is concerned primarily with the use of ornamental or filler adjectives in various ways in this segment of the line, but he notes the use of other filler words before the fourth-foot caesura (158). His illuminating observation earlier (117, n. 3) that μέγας is often used before this point to carry a noun-epithet formula back to the B caesura (μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ) and after it to extend a name or noun from the B to the C caesura (Πρίαμος μέγας, τρίποδα μέγαν) is also generally indicative of the filler character of the word in this segment, both before and after the fourth-foot caesura. The repeated use of τε μέγας καὶ in the parallels cited for line 20, as well as the individual fillers and connectives noted in the text, suggests a more significant use of such elements and one that would repay further study.

four-part articulation more desirable, if not essential. The first unit in line 18 is similar to that in 19 and 20 (*Λητώ τ' Ἰαπετόν τε*), but the concluding noun-epithet exactly fills the space after the fourth-foot caesura, and a connective is needed to make the bridge (... *ἰδὲ Κρόνον ἀγκυλομήτην*). In spite of its triplet of names and unlike 19 and 20 this line can hardly be articulated in three parts: *Ἰαπετόν τε ἰδέ* is hardly a cohesive unit and has no parallels to justify it as does *τε μέγας καί*. The rhythmic articulation must, I think, be taken as ambiguous. In other lines where *Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης* (always nominative) is used both patterns can be seen. In one group (*Th.* 168, 473, 495) *μέγας* is prefixed, carrying the epithet back to the B caesura; this is a common use of *μέγας* as noted by M. Edwards (see above, n. 30). The two in the other group (*Th.* 137, *Il.* 4.59) are much alike and are best articulated in three parts, e.g., *Th.* 137: *τοὺς δὲ μέθ' ὀπλότατος γένητο Ἰ Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης*. In line 684 the concluding *βέλεα στονόεντα* poses a like problem, though here an actual three-part division is at least conceivable: [*ἐπ'*] *ἀλλήλοισ ἔεσαν* in fact makes in some ways a better sense division than the line as marked, so that we might have *ὥς ἄρ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔεσαν βέλεα στονόεντα*.³¹ In other lines ending with *βέλεα στονόεντα* the three-part division is either integral (*Il.* 17.374) or, in the very similar *Od.* 24.180, clearly preferable: *αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄλλοις ἐφίει βέλεα στονόεντα*. However it is marked, the rhythm of *Th.* 684 as felt must be put down as distinctly ambiguous. It is now clear that pure connectives and fillers are not the only kind of word that functions in this position to fit formulas of this type to the majority of lines that are conceived with the B caesura at least somewhere in the background. Verbs are common here too: *ἔεσαν* and *ἐφίει* (*Od.* 24.180) before *βέλεα στονόεντα*; *γένετο* and *τέκετο* (*Il.* 4.59) before *Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης*. They are, in fact, discussed by Parry, along with certain connective elements, as a means of doing just this, with no implication, of course, of any further, i.e., rhythmical or metrical, articulation.³² In the final line in this group, *Th.* 692, the anomalous *ἱερήν* belongs to a common pattern of adj. + noun + verb in the second half line, e.g., *ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνων* (-βᾶσα): *Th.* 57, 939. Here it is attached to a formula combination (*φλόγα εἰλυφώωντες / εἰλυφάζει*) beginning at the fourth-foot caesura and paralleled in a line that can be best articulated in three parts (*Il.* 20.492): *πάντη τε κλονέων ἄνεμος φλόγα εἰλυφάζει*.

³¹ For the treatment of *ἐπ'* see above, first note to line 684; the preposition is not really essential to perception of the meaning.

³² Parry, *L'ép. tr.* (above, n. 11) 65-67.

It is, I think, clear that with allowance for articulation between three- and four-part lines there is a high degree of correlation between formulaic and cola units. The only outright exception is αἰθέρα διαν in *Th.* 697, which will be taken up later. Two cases, however, already noted in the general comment on *Th.* 676–700, are peculiar in extending from the beginning of the line to the fourth-foot caesura without being articulated as elements of a three-part line: ῥιπῇ ὕπ' ἀθανάτων, ἔνοσις δ' in 681 (repeated with a different adjective and verb unit following in 849) and καῦμα . . . κάτεχεν (*Χάος*) in 700 (repeated with an object of different length in 844). Though marked off by a fourth-foot caesural stroke in the text above, the rhythmic movement is entirely in cola of a four-part line. Line 700 has similarities to a Homeric line (*Od.* 13.269), where this verb is combined with an object (κάτεχ' οὐρανόν) that carries the clause to the C caesura; both lines are completed by the beginning of a new clause enjambling with the next line. In the repetition in *Th.* 844, “formulaic” and only partial, but with an unmistakable echo, the line is completed after the fourth foot by a formula of the type appropriate to three-part lines: καῦμα δ' ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων κάτεχεν | ἰοειδέα πόντον (see *Od.* 11.107; cf. *Il.* 11.298). Line 681 has no such association with three-part rhythm; the break after ἔνοσις is arbitrary, but I think explainable. The pattern of the second half line, ἔνοσις δ' ἱκανε βαρεῖα, i.e., noun + verb + βαρεῖα, has parallels cited in the notes. In the repetition in *Th.* 849 the concluding phrase is ἔνοσις δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει. The collocation ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει occurs four times in the *Iliad*, always in the phrase βοῇ δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει and in this line position. Though the metrical parallel is not exact, Hesiod clearly had a traditional unit to build from. In *Th.* 709 he ends a line with ὄτοβος δ' ἄπλητος ὀρώρει, and when the reuse of ῥιπῇ ὕπ' ἀθανάτων . . . suggested itself in 849, ἔνοσις and a subtle association of sound and rhythm, along with sense, must have dredged up ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει to complete the line in an expected pattern of noun + adj. + ὀρώρει. Though both cases could be prime targets for charges of “literary” imitation in the Typhoeus episode, their use is integral in both their appearances to the work itself and to a traditional method of composition. Hesiod’s feeling for the break at the fourth-foot caesura, which his exceptional use of three-part lines, far greater than Homer’s, must have ingrained in him, could on occasion cause a jointure at this point that need not be reflected in the rhythm itself.³³

³³ See Porter as cited above, n. 23, and text ad loc.

The strength with which he felt it is shown by the number of lines that can be articulated as either three- or four-part lines and in which the ambiguity must be taken as intentional. It certainly adds to the richness of movement. A prime illustration, using language that is utterly simple and found in both traditions, is *Th.* 24: either

τόνδε δέ με πρώτιστα θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπον

where the verbal idea inheres in (and is forecast by) *πρώτιστα* and fuses it with the subject, or

τόνδε δέ με πρώτιστα θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπον

where *πρώτιστα* is thrown with *με* (Hesiod). In the end *πρώτιστα* is felt with both articulations and along with the proleptic *τόνδε* (*μῦθον*) welds the line into a tight and vital unit.

Such lines pose with particular forcefulness the question of how, and how strongly, the poet could feel each set of words as formulaic groupings. Is it really valid to take *πρώτιστα θεαὶ* together, for example? The collocation is largely the result of the usual placement of these words in the positions found here. The parallels cited in the notes on the line show that elsewhere *πρώτιστα* (*τὰ πρῶτα*) plus a form of *θεός* could be felt as a unit, more perhaps as a compositional unit standing as surrogate for a later phrase than as a true formulaic unit, but still strongly knit together by their habitual placement in the line. G. P. Edwards notes that of 47 places where Homer uses *πρῶτα* in this position it is followed immediately by *θεός* or *θεῶν* eight times.³⁴ And similarly discrete but undoubted formulaic expressions like *Τιτῆνες δ' ἐτέρωθεν* (676) give further support to the formulaic unity of expressions that are used in his way. But habitual placement of words in the line also plays some part in justifying taking *θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπον* together. Here and elsewhere in the notes on the lines themselves I have indicated instances where and to what extent such habitual placement may have produced apparently formulaic expressions fortuitously (see especially the notes on *Th.* 10 and 685). But the relation between word localization and formulaic language itself is a knotty question calling for further study, and there undoubtedly exist many recognized formulas created in this way.

There can be no doubt from this study, either from its statistics or from the ways of using language its methods have revealed, that Hesiod was indeed using the traditional language of the hexameter, at least in

³⁴ G. P. Edwards (above, n. 1) 26.

the *Theogony*, in an essentially traditional way. But there is something different, of which we have seen a few evidences. The clearest and most important of these is the heightened inner tension and associative power that comes through the interplay of a three-part and four-part rhythmic structure in the line. The effect is one of higher concentration, and that is what the few other differences we have noted point toward, a greater concern for filling the hexameter line with all its traditional character and language will bear. A unique spondaic epithet in *Φοῖβόν τ' Ἀπόλλωνα*, seen beside the light Homeric *Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα*, creates a heavy and concentrated line beginning — even though it comes out one mora longer. Actual concentration is clearer in the next line, where instead of the Homeric *ἡδὲ Πόσειδάων γαῖήοχος* we have its accusative form fused with another combination, *γαῖήοχον ἐννοσίγαιον*, by an unusual internal correption in *γαῖήοχον*. This need not reflect a “décomposition” of oral epic style, as Hoekstra interprets it, but simply the expression of a poet who felt and wanted to express the power of the compacted divine epithets as they unrolled.³⁵ He also likes to conflate two formulas for greater density of expression, as in *αἰθέρα διὰν ἵκανε* (697) from *αἰθέρ' ἵκανε* and a pattern of noun + *διὰν* + verb of motion or rest,³⁶ or in *ἅπ' οὐρανοῦ ἡδ' ἅπ' Ὀλύμπου* (689) from *ἅπ' οὐρανοῦ ἄστερόεντος* and *ἅπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου*. Still more revealing perhaps are the cases we have noticed where Hesiod uses a meaningful word where Homer has connectives or fillers: *ἵκετ' οὐρανὸν ἄστερόεντα* (685) beside Homeric *καί* or *εἰς οὐρανὸν ἄστερόεντα* and *φλόξ δ' αἰθέρα διὰν ἵκανε* (697) where in Homer we should expect a more leisurely *ἡ δ'* or *τε καί* as introduction.

Hesiod is, in fact, concentrating a different poetic and creative power into his traditional language. There is some reason to agree with T. G. Rosenmeyer's observation that “Hesiod tends to compose, not only in

³⁵ Hoekstra (above, n. 1) 210–212. For Hesiod's sensitivity to the rolling sound of names and epithets see my article “The Proem-Hymn of Hesiod's *Theogony*,” *TAPA* 100 (1971) 372. Though space prohibits more, it is relevant to mention here the frequent use of such “heavy” words as *ἰωχμοῖο* or *βολάων* (683), which contribute greatly to density of effect and of which Hesiod is quite fond.

³⁶ *αἰθέρα διὰν* is unique in our passages as a formula that is not congruent with colon division. It does not appear elsewhere, except in *Od.* 19.540, where it has the same position as here, and cannot be treated as a “displaced” formula. Though I have marked it as straight formula, I believe the formations in Homer and Hesiod are coincidental and the result rather of a conflation of the two distinct formulas noted in the text. Of the expressions Homer's is more properly a “creation,” since *αἰθέρ' ἄερθι* itself is not found, while *αἰθέρ' ἵκανε* (*ἵκηται*) occurs no less than five times elsewhere.

formulas, but in words."³⁷ And it is true: words in Hesiod like *δίκη* and *πόνος* and *ἔρις* are constantly being examined for all the meanings inherent in them, generalized and personified almost as *numina*, to a degree far surpassing those in Homer. This habit is, I suggest, not one that runs counter to a traditional poetic language but in fact is the logical result of a full exploitation of it. When Hesiod draws the names of the Muses in *Th.* 77-79 from the language of his description of their activity in 65-71 he is drawing out of this traditional language and fixing in concentrated form the full range and all the facets of his concept of what they stood for. The formation of the name of "the chiefest of all," Calliope, from the common noun-epithet *ὀπὶ καλῇ* is the key to his method and way of working. The generic content of the formula becomes overt (in this case it also becomes more condensed). The ennobling character Parry found in Homer's use of the noun-epithet formula becomes something one can contemplate directly. Something of the "traditional intuitive meaning" of the formula which Lord sees emanating from its past uses and associations and so forming an inextricable part of the singer's use of it is here not simply accepted, but employed directly and even made explicit; the hypothesis of an origin in ritual only strengthens this potential for generalization.³⁸

The increase in the more significant use of epithets that has been seen in Hesiod in contrast to Homer³⁹ is not necessarily a sign of disintegration of the tradition but may actually, in line with what I have just said, be a distinct development of it. There has lately been an increasing trend towards recognizing more significant use of the epithet in Homer himself.⁴⁰ Homer, indeed, shows some tendency to focus on the truly traditional, frequently generic implications of a word in its context that we may infer in Hesiod from the evolution of *ὀπὶ καλῇ* to *Καλλιόπη*. This is in the same manner as Homer's description of the "wary" Bellerophon in the unsuccessful attempt of the wife of Proetus to seduce him: "she did not persuade him, *ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα*, *δαΐφρονα* Βελλ-

³⁷ "The Formula in Early Greek Poetry," *Arion* 4:2 (1965) 295-311; the observation here is on 307.

³⁸ Lord, *Singer of Tales* (above, n. 2) 65-67.

³⁹ Rosenmeyer (above, n. 37) 306; cf. n. 55.

⁴⁰ M. Edwards (above, n. 21) *passim*, but see especially p. 155 and the conclusion, pp. 177-179; see also Michael Nagler, "Towards a Generative View of the Oral Formula," *TAPA* 98 (1967) *passim*; W. Whallon's "The Homeric Epithets," *YCS* 17 (1961) 97-142, though carrying interpretation further than most and with a subjective bent, must be mentioned as the first to open up the subject after Parry.

εροφόντην" (*Il.* 6.162):⁴¹ the ambiguous origin of the first component of *δαΐφρονα* ("war" or "knowing") is focused on, and Bellerophon emerges not only as a young man who might well live up to his heroic destiny but who also showed the perception needed in the present situation. Hesiod is simply building on the potential underlying this practice and making different use of the traditional language he inherited. Rosemeyer sees such a development as not proper to an oral poet "of the kind that Homer is."⁴² Perhaps not, at any rate to the same degree; it is, however, entirely proper to an oral poet of the kind that Hesiod is.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN COLLEGE
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

⁴¹ Cf. M. Edwards (above, n. 21) 155 and references.

⁴² Rosemeyer (above, n. 37) 306-307.

OLYMPIAN 1.8-11: AN EPINICIAN METAPHOR

FRANK J. NISETICH

MOST readers of Pindar's first Olympian ode¹ have sensed the presence of a metaphor in lines 8-9:

ὄθεν ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται
σοφῶν μητίεσσι.

Opinions on the source of the metaphor, however, differ widely from each other. Liddell and Scott, for example, offer this interpretation of the verb ἀμφιβάλλεται: "the song is cast [like a net] over the minds of poets."² New students of Pindar are likely to accept the image of the net, but it has virtually no justification. The novice to Pindar will not suspect that it has misled him, or that his response to this particular metaphor has any bearing on what awaits him in the rest of Pindar. On the other hand, one of the ancient scholia traces the origin of the metaphor to garlands or crowns,³ but although this has a great deal to recommend it, critics have largely disregarded it in favor of other, less compelling views. Perhaps even more remarkable still, those who have endorsed this ancient interpretation of the metaphor have not perceived the manner in which Pindar employs it, and consequently have not convinced those who have found a reference to a crown difficult here. Rumpel, for instance, simply quoted the scholion,⁴ while Slater in his recent lexicon translated the verb ἀμφιβάλλεται "crowns," but added the interpretation "occupies the thoughts" of the poets.⁵ This, as we shall see, does not essentially differ from other views which do not involve the connotation "crown" at all.

Among the various interpretations that have been offered, Gilder-

¹ All citations from Pindar in this article are taken from *Pindarus*, ed. B. Snell (Teubner, 1964). Bacchylides is cited from *Bacchylides*, ed. B. Snell and H. Maehler (Teubner, 1970).

² *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. ἀμφιβάλλω Ic.

³ *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, ed. A. B. Drachmann (Leipzig, 1903) I 22:14e: ἡ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν στεφάνων.

⁴ Ioannes Rumpel, *Lexicon Pindaricum* (Leipzig, 1883) 40.

⁵ W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin, 1969) 43.

sleeve's perhaps best illustrates the vagaries of Pindaric criticism: "Pindar's usage indicates a shower of poetic βέλη or κῆλα whirring about the minds of the bards."⁶ But all the passages cited by Gildersleeve to support this view have one thing in common: each describes missiles going from the poet to his theme — precisely the opposite of what Pindar must mean here.⁷ The relative ὅθεν denotes Olympia as the source of the song, an Olympian victory as the poet's theme. If in this case the theme hits the poet, the reversal is not only unique but odd. The theme stated is the target hit; the poet stating his theme is the marksman taking careful aim. If these difficulties are not enough, we may wonder why Pindar should picture the shafts of inspiration falling *around* their target rather than upon it, especially if the expression is drawn from an image that emphasizes *accuracy* of aim. In spite of the problems in Gildersleeve's view, it still seemed "cogent" to David Young.⁸

Wilamowitz on the other hand met the problem without attributing to ἀμφιβάλλεται any concrete reference at all.⁹ For parallel he cited *Bacchae* 385: κρατῆρ ἀνδράσιν ὕπνον ἀμφιβάλλει, then deftly managed to interpret ἀμφιβάλλεται in *Olympian* 1 by focusing on Pindar's expression a few lines further on: Πίσας . . . χάρις νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυνάταις ἔθηκε φροντίσιν (18–19). Wilamowitz's point, like Fennell's earlier,¹⁰ was that the verb conjures to mind no specific, concrete image at all: it simply means that the concern to compose poetry embraces the thoughts of the poets. In this way Wilamowitz obviated the quest for a metaphorical reference. His interpretation is less an argument than a denial of any need for argument, an attempt to strip ἀμφιβάλλεται of any precise metaphorical force.

Farnell saw the metaphor "from folding a cloak round one" and explained: "The thoughts of the poet clothe themselves in the hymn of praise."¹¹ Renehan has affirmed and elaborated the plausibility of this view by pointing out that one of the most common uses of the verb

⁶ Basil L. Gildersleeve, *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York, 1890) 130.

⁷ The passages are: *Olympian* 2.98, 9.5, 13.93. None of them offers a parallel to Pindar's expression at *Olympian* 1.8–9 except in the vaguest sense, and none is an example of the verb in question.

⁸ David C. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar* (Leiden, 1968) 121 n. 2.

⁹ Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Pindaros* (Berlin, 1922) 492.

¹⁰ C. A. M. Fennell, *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (Cambridge, 1893) 10.

¹¹ Lewis Richard Farnell, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar* (London 1932) 5.

ἀμφιβάλλω is with clothing.¹² Renehan also argued against Fennell's opinion that Pindar's use of ἀμφιβάλλεται does not involve a specific image. According to Renehan, not only is there an image, but Pindar reveals precisely what it is by his choice of the adjective πολύφατος. Along with the normal sense of this word, "glorious," Pindar intended a second, meaning "richly woven."¹³ Citing the scholion to *Nemean* 7.116 (76ff. Snell), Renehan commented, "The ὕμνος here therefore is a garment." It is difficult to see how he arrived at this conclusion, for Pindar in both the fragment (ὕφαίνω . . . ποικίλον ἄνδημα) and the lines from *Nemean* 7 (εἴρειν στεφάνους ἐλαφρόν) weaves or plaits a crown, not a garment. The same difficulty applies to virtually all the passages cited by Renehan, for in epinician poetry an allusion to weaving or plaiting, when it points to any product at all, points not to a garment but to a crown.¹⁴

We may now turn to the evidence in favor of the crown, evidence consisting in the first place of the two Pindaric parallels for the verb in question. These parallels have either been cited as conclusive evidence or simply overlooked. But among those scholars who have taken them into account, no one seems to have asked the obvious question: if ἀμφιβάλλεται calls to mind a crown, what sort of a crown would it be? The answer is immediately apparent from a glance at the parallels, the first of which occurs at *Pythian* 5.30, where Pindar describes the king, Arcesilas of Cyrene, crowned by the victory of his charioteer at Delphi:

ἀλλ' ἀρισθάρματον
ὑδατι Κασταλίας ξενω-
θεῖς γέρας ἀμφέβαλε τεαῖσιν κόμαις.

ἀρισθάρματον γέρας obviously paraphrases the crown for victory in the chariot race, and the phrase τεαῖσιν κόμαις makes this certain. ἀμφέβαλε thus describes the coronation of Arcesilas, the victor. With this parallel before them, it is easy to see why some scholars have

¹² Robert F. Renehan, "Conscious Ambiguities in Pindar and Bacchylides," *GRBS* 10 (1969) 217-218.

¹³ "... Etymologically the epithet of course divides into πολυ-φατος (<φημί). I suggest that Pindar intended *simultaneously* a second division πολ-υφατος, as if from ὑφαίνω." Renehan (above, n. 12).

¹⁴ Whatever statistics may say about the connotations of ὑφαίνω, πλέκω, and their derivatives in the rest of Greek literature, the practice of epinician poets does not vary in regard to them. See Pindar *Olympian* 2.74, 6.86-87, *Nemean* 7.77, *Isthmian* 8.65b, and Bacchylides 5.9-13, 13.221-222, 17.114, 19.5-10.

accepted the crown as the metaphorical reference in *Olympian* 1.8-9.¹⁵ In this regard the second parallel is even more telling:

. . . τᾶς ἄπο

θεόμοροι νίσοντ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους αἰοιδαί
 ᾧ τινι κραίνων ἐφετμὰς Ἡρακλέος προτέρας
 ἀτρεκῆς Ἑλλανοδίκας γλεφάρων Αἰ-
 τωλὸς ἀνὴρ ὑψόθεν
 ἀμφὶ κόμαισι βάλλη
 γλαυκόχροα κόσμον ἐλαίας . . .

(*Olympian* 3.9-13)

Both diction and context recall the lines in *Olympian* 1: τᾶς ἄπο and ὄθεν almost exactly echo each other: in each case Olympia is the source of song. The above lines render in graphic detail the coronation of the victor at Olympia. ἀμφὶ . . . βάλλη thus denotes the act of crowning the victor. There is only one crucial difference to observe between each of these parallels and our passage in *Olympian* 1, a difference that has not until now been given its proper emphasis: in both parallel passages Pindar uses the verb in a straightforward manner — there is nothing abstrusely metaphorical in either of them. They furnish evidence for the *derivation*, but not necessarily for the *use*, of the metaphor in *Olympian* 1.8-9.

So much may be said for the exact parallels: they describe the victor's coronation at the games in a straightforward manner. When we turn from them to a passage involving the simple instead of the compound verb, we find basically the same associations: Ἀλκμᾶνα στεφάνοισι βάλλω, ραίνω δὲ καὶ ὕμνω (*Pythian* 8.57). Here the verb βάλλω occurs together with the crown, στεφάνοισι, the missing element in our expression at *Olympian* 1.8-9. Not only that, but the literal act of pelting the hero with crowns quickly glides over into the metaphorical act of sprinkling him with song — either act shares in the same imagery, each involving something thrown on something else. We meet the throwing of crowns again in *Pythian* 9.124, rendered by a synonym of βάλλω: πολλὰ μὲν κείνοι δίκον φύλλ' ἐπι καὶ στεφάνους. Bacchylides also pictures the victor with crowns falling about him:

. . . πολέες

δ' ἀμφ' Ἀλεξ[ίδα]μον ἀνθέων
 ἐν πεδίῳ στέφανοι
 Κίρρας ἔπεσον κρατερᾶς
 ἦρα παννίκοι <ο> πάλας.

(11.17-21)

¹⁵ Friedrich Mezger, *Pindars Siegeslieder* (Leipzig, 1880) 89. Manuel Fernandez-Galiano, *Pindaro, Olimpicas* (Madrid, 1956) 8; Slater (above, n. 5) 43.

According to Jebb, we may recognize in these three passages the practice known as the *φυλλοβολία*.¹⁶ Obviously the verb in *βάλλω* or *ἀμφιβάλλω* can evoke the victor in this moment of supreme felicity.¹⁷ When used metaphorically, as at *Olympian* 1.8–9, to describe the victor's celebration in song, it should evoke not just any happy moment but the moment of triumph at the games in particular, especially in a passage where the site of that triumph is described as the source of the song. What we know about the actual coronation of victors at Olympia would tend to support this interpretation: at the same time the victor was being crowned at the games, the heralds would have been proclaiming his name, his father's name, and the name of his city to the assembled audience of the Greek world.¹⁸ So Pindar couples his allusion to a coronation of some kind with his first announcement of Hieron's name in the ode:

ὄθεν ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται
σοφῶν μητίεσσι, κελαδεῖν
Κρόνου παῖδ' ἐς ἀφνεῶν ἰκομένους
μάκαιραν Ἰέρωνος ἐστίαν.

It is in fact Pindar's habit to employ the crown-song metaphor in this fashion, while announcing the victor's name. It is my contention that he does this in order to make his own announcement of the name in the poem a more or less concrete repetition of its announcement at the games, when the victor advanced to receive his crown.

¹⁶ Sir Richard Jebb, *Bacchylides: The Poems and Fragments* (Cambridge, 1905) 323. Cf. also *Isthmian* 4.27 and C. A. M. Fennell, *Pindar: The Nemean and Isthmian Odes* (Cambridge, 1899) 173.

¹⁷ Compare Stesichorus fr. 187 (D. L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci* [Oxford, 1962]) and Didymus in M. E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque* (Paris, 1868) 403. See also *Callimachus*, ed. Rudolf Pfeiffer, vol. 1, *Fragmenta* (Oxford, 1949) 247. Here Callimachus describes the return of Theseus, victor over the minotaur. The poem itself is not an epinician, but the allusion to a specifically epinician occasion — the *φυλλοβολία* — stands out clearly (so Pfeiffer, p. 247). Callimachus' delicate awareness in matters of literary propriety would support the argument that his use of *ἀμφί* . . . *βάλλον* does more than general service: it adds to the allusive power of the entire passage — it is, in these circumstances, a word with an epinician aura about it. Its associations in the rest of Greek literature mean little compared to its associations in an epinician context, and there it goes with the garlands of the victor.

¹⁸ E. Norman Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London, 1910) 200–201, 205, 242; *Olympia: Its History and Remains* (Oxford, 1925) 227; *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1930) 227–228. That coronation and herald's announcement occurred simultaneously may also be inferred from Pausanias 8.40.2. See below, n. 27.

So much may be said in favor of the crown in an argument drawn from the verb itself: none of the other interpretations of ἀμφιβάλλεται has anything approaching the peculiar aptness of this one, for none of them fits in so beautifully with a whole range of epinician associations. The parallels then point to a crown. Not only that, they point to the victor's crown and to the moment he received it. But it is this particularly epinician resonance of the verb which scholars have neglected at *Olympian* 1.8–9. If the verb calls a crown to mind, this should be the victor's crown. The victor's crown belongs on the victor's head — and it is there that we find it in the parallels. Moreover, if by some metaphorical magic the crown has turned into a song, it has done so under the influence of the poet's art, and it is to the art of poetry that Pindar refers when he elects to name the poets as the σοφοί. It is time then to consider what this art involves: in what sense can singing (ὕμνος) be spoken of in terms of crowning (ἀμφιβάλλεται)?

There is a metaphorical sense in which the crown and the song can be said to be put together in a similar way, and Pindar once or twice exploits this possibility. Lattimore apparently relied on it when he translated ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται σοφῶν μητίεσσι “the song winds strands in the hearts of the skilled.”¹⁹ But Pindar, in the one or two instances where he does draw on the similarity in composition between song and crown, draws on it explicitly;²⁰ besides, if this were all he intended, his choice of a word so clearly associated with the coronation of the victor would have no point. Another possible source for the metaphor is the influence of the symposiac context: crown and song belong together at the banquet, and Pindar is singing at a banquet in the poem — but this can only account for the association of the two, it cannot explain their *fusion*, their metaphorical blending as we have it here. Song and crown are fused together at *Olympian* 1.8–9 not in virtue of their compositional similarity, nor because they are associated at the symposium, but because, in an epinician context, they do the same thing, they glorify the victor. The cogent parallels for the expression at *Olympian* 1.8–9 occur in those passages where Pindar employs not the same word but the same metaphor — a metaphor that operates through a verbal, not an adjectival, relation between song and crown.

¹⁹ Richmond Lattimore, *The Odes of Pindar* (Chicago, 1968) 1. Similarly the *Paraphrasis benedictina* (below, n. 32).

²⁰ *Olympian* 6.86, *Pythian* 12.6–8, *Nemean* 4.44–45, 7.77–79 (with fr. 179 Snell), *Isthmian* 8.65b–66b. See also Bacchylides 5.1–14, 19.1–11.

ἱκέτας Αἰακοῦ
 σεμνῶν γονάτων πόλιός θ' ὑπὲρ φίλας
 ἄστῶν θ' ὑπὲρ τῶνδ' ἄπτομαι φέρων
 Λυδῖαν μίτραν καναχηδὰ πεποικιλμέναν,
 Δεῖνιος δισσῶν σταδίων
 καὶ πατρὸς Μέγα Νεμέαιον ἄγαλμα.

(Nemean 8.13-16)

Modern critical reaction to these lines has been rather fascinating in itself. The lines struck Wilamowitz, for example, so forcefully that he took them at face value and looked elsewhere for an actual crown to match Pindar's description of this one.²¹ On the other hand Farnell could not get away from the metaphorical tenor of the language, which apparently got away from him, for he concluded by lamenting its tastelessness.²² More recently Köhnken cited the parallels which guarantee that Pindar's description of the crown here is indeed metaphorical, but though Köhnken named the metaphor involved the *Siegeskranzlied*, he went on to conclude that Pindar is not thinking of a real crown, but only of his song as a glorification of victory.²³ With this we have come full circle from the position of Wilamowitz, that we need to identify

²¹ Wilamowitz (above, n. 9) 406 n. 1. Wilamowitz found the crown he was looking for in another ode — the gold, ivory, and coral plaited by the Muse in *Nemean* 7.77-79. These ingredients, he argued, when put on the victor's head, would rattle sufficiently to justify Pindar's adverb *καναχηδὰ*. But the crown in *Nemean* 7.77-79 is a metaphor for the ode, and nothing more; while that in *Nemean* 8.13-16 is actual, as the participle *φέρων* assures, and metaphorical too, as suggested by the attributes *Λυδῖαν . . . καναχηδὰ πεποικιλμέναν*. Each of these attributes may easily evoke music and singing — *καναχηδὰ* can scarcely refer to anything else — and yet all belong grammatically with the crown, *μίτραν*. In *Olympian* 6.87, *Pythian* 9.77, *Nemean* 5.42, fr. 194.2, the quality described in *πεποικιλμέναν* goes with the song; in fr. 179 it goes, again, with the crown. Both Alcman (*Poetae melici Graeci*, 1.67ff) and Sappho (*Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta*, ed. Edgar Lobel and Denys Page [Oxford, 1963], 98a.10) couple *Λυδία* and *μίτρα*, but the musical connotation in *Λυδία* is clear at *Olympian* 14.17 and *Nemean* 4.45. Herwig Maehler argued for its presence in *Nemean* 8.15 as well (*Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum bis zur Zeit Pindars* [Göttingen, 1963] 90 n. 3). *ἄγαλμα* at the end of our passage from *Nemean* 8 has an equal ambivalence. At *Nemean* 10.13 it defines the activity of singing, and that alone. But in *Nemean* 8.16 it cuts two ways. On the one hand, in apposition with *μίτραν*, it is the actual crown laid on the altar of Aeacus, which it decorates. On the other hand, taken with the genitives *Δεῖνιος* and *Μέγα*, it denotes the result of the song. It thus decorates the altar and glorifies the victor at one and the same time.

²² Farnell (above, n. 11) 305.

²³ Adolf Köhnken, *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar* (Berlin, 1971) 28 n. 32.

some unique and extraordinary crown attested elsewhere in order to justify Pindar's bold language here, to the new position, that there is no real crown at all behind that language. Either position is extreme; neither affords an appreciative vantage on the working of Pindar's mind.

Köhnken's inability to see a particular crown here is less picturesque than Wilamowitz's attempt to reconstruct it down to the last detail. Wilamowitz however had begun rightly, with the crown itself, only he did not pursue the inquiry in the right direction: such a crown appearing in such a poem under such circumstances is more likely to be a victory crown than any other. Pindar in fact is quite specific about it: *μίτραν* is his way of referring to the *ταινία*, the woolen band that the victor had bound about his own brow immediately after his triumph at the games.²⁴ In the ensuing moments, he would have gone to receive the official crown, his *στέφανος*, while the heralds proclaimed him. This official crown he would then have dedicated to Zeus before leaving Nemea, even as he now dedicates the *μίτραν* [*ταινίαν*] to Aeacus on his return home. This double dedication has apparently led Pindar to conflate *στέφανος* and *ταινία*; for in the lines before us, he has carefully preserved all the details of the victor's coronation and proclamation at the games. The victor at least is not likely to have forgotten these details, or to have missed Pindar's careful rendering of them here. He would still remember the heralds proclaiming his name (*Δείνιος*) to the crowd at Nemea along with his father's name (*Μέγας*) and the name of his city (*Αἰακοῦ . . . πόλιος*) — consequently Pindar's precise if poetic repetition of these details here would stir in him the joyful recollection they are intended to stir. To insist that the crown is nothing but a metaphor for song in this case would be to ignore Pindar's careful preservation of the source of that metaphor in the ode's occasion. The song is a crown here because it repeats, and will continue to repeat, the victor's glorification at the games.

The operation of the metaphor is similar in its three other occurrences in Pindar. Before telling the myth of *Pythian* 12 — the invention of the flute by Athena — Pindar prays to the goddess, asking her *δέξαι στεφάνωμα τόδ' ἐκ Πυθῶνος εὐδόξω Μίδα* (line 5). On *στεφάνωμα* Gildersleeve commented "the song as well as the wreath," and then referred the reader to another ode, where again *στεφάνωμα* appears in apposition with the act of singing.²⁵ The example from *Pythian* 12

²⁴ Mezger (above, n. 15) 1; Jebb (above, n. 16) 353.

²⁵ Gildersleeve (above, n. 6) 365.

works implicitly. It is based on the verbal force inherent in the suffix -μα, which denotes the result of an action. The line might be paraphrased: "to receive this [song] which crowns Midas in his glory." The important thing to notice is that the line containing the crown-song metaphor also mentions the victor's name for the first time in the ode. If we look back two lines, we find his native city, and if we look forward to the next line we find the event in which he won, an occasional detail that not only fixes the context in which these things appear together but that Pindar goes on to make the starting point and subject of his myth. So he offers the crown-song to the victor, in the manner we have noted: quiet though they are, the details of the herald's proclamation are heard again, the crown is bestowed at the same time, only now it has become a song. It has been so transformed because the song does now what the crown had done before: it manifests and glorifies the victor. Its bestowal on the victor now has the same result as his coronation at the games: it causes him to be proclaimed to the Greek world at large. Most of this is implicit in this passage, but Pindar can be explicit too.

Ἐθέλω χαλκᾶσπιδα Πυθιονίκαν
 σὺν βαθυζώνοισιν ἀγγέλλων
 Τελεσικράτη Χαρίτεσσι γεγωνεῖν
 ὄλβιον ἄνδρα διωξίππου στεφάνωμα Κυράνας.

(*Pythian* 9.1-4)

This is the other passage to which Gildersleeve directed the reader. Concerning it, he remarked that στεφάνωμα "gives the result of the γεγωνεῖν, rather than apposition to ἄνδρα."²⁶ A paraphrase of the four lines might run as follows: "With the help of the deep-girdled Graces, proclaiming a victor at Pytho in the race with the bronze shield, I want to cry aloud the happy Telesicrates, and thus crown Cyrene, mistress of horses." Once again the act of giving voice, of singing, is equivalent to placing a crown on someone's head. A reader sensitive to epinician diction will note also the information that Pindar transmits — particularly the details of the herald's proclamation at the games, the victor's name and city. Pindar even draws our attention to the persona of the herald who made that announcement by adopting it himself: such is the force of the participle ἀγγέλλων.²⁷ If then he

²⁶ Ibid., 339.

²⁷ R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford, 1962) 36. Alfred Croiset noticed that the poet preserves the proclamation in the poem but did not perceive the connection between it and the victor's crown. See *La poésie de Pindare*

proceeds to call his song a coronation of the victor's city, all these details point to the reason that he can do so: singing the victor may have the same result as crowning his city *because* victor and city had been proclaimed together by the herald at the moment when the crown touched the victor's brow. By adopting the persona of this herald, Pindar takes us in a concrete and definite sense back to the occasion of the ode. The audience could not have missed the echo in these opening words: they recall, they repeat the victor's coronation at Delphi — even while they transcend it, for in a single breath it passes from one moment of history to the eternal moment of the poem.

A third example of the same expression occurs in *Isthmian* 4.61–63:

προφρόνων Μοισᾶν τύχοιμεν κείνον ἄψαι πυρσὸν ὕμνων
καὶ Μελίσσῳ, παγκρατίου στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον,
ἔρνει Τελεσιάδα.

Again στεφάνωμα appears in apposition with the activity of song: "May I find the Muses zealous on my behalf, so that I might kindle that torch of songs, even for Melissus, scion of Telesiadas, and so put the crown it deserves on his pancratic victory." The event in which Melissus won

(Paris, 1880) 113–114 and 114 n. 1. See also *Nemean* 5.1–5, with Bergk's remark "repetit poeta praeconis vocem" (Theodorus Bergk, *Poetae lyriici Graeci* [Leipzig, 1882] I 273) and J. B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar* (New York, 1890) 89, along with the scholion to the passage in Drachmann (above, n. 3) III 89.4b. Cf. Bacchylides 2.1–10, *Pythian* 1.29–33. On the latter passage see Wolfgang Schadewaldt, *Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion* (Halle, 1928) 274. Schadewaldt cited *Nemean* 4.74, 6.57, *Olympian* 4.4, *Pythian* 9.4, *Olympian* 9.24, and *Nemean* 5.3. But see also *Olympian* 6.90 and *Pythian* 2.4. Especially remarkable are *Olympian* 14.17–24 and *Olympian* 8.82. The herald and his announcement are actual details taken over from the occasion of victory into the poem as a vehicle for the reporting of necessary facts. Once entered into the poem they become subject to poetic variation. Thus the ingredients of the actual announcement at the conclusion of the event — the victor's name, his father's name, his city (above, text at n. 18) — may be reduced in an ode to one of these, or expanded to include other details such as the contest in which he competed. Pindar often limits the announcement itself to one or another of the items in the original proclamation, usually the victor's city, and lets the others appear in close proximity to it. In spite of this variation, however, the original proclamation of the herald always remains recognizable: the crown is there to establish the context in which the name is being announced. Vergil is apparently remembering these Greek agonistic events in the fifth book of the *Aeneid*, when he describes the moment of triumph in the ship race (244–246) and the contest in archery (539–540). See also Euripides *Troades* 220–223 and Paley's remark "in the expression used there is an allusion to the crowns and public proclamation of the victors at the great games" (F. A. Paley, *Euripides* [London, 1872] I 490).

focuses our attention on the moment of victory; his name, his father's name, are, again, details taken over from the herald's announcement of that victory. The passage occurs late in the ode, during the second naming of the victor, and thus it demonstrates how strong is the tendency to keep the name of the victor and his crown together. The origin of this tendency should be clear from the above analysis: in the passages discussed, and in the *thirty-eight* other odes where the collocation of name and crown occurs without any metaphor to explain it,²⁸ we may recognize the epinician occasion making itself felt in the composition of the ode. The crown and the name go together in the poem because they go together at the games. What all this means is that each ode, sometimes explicitly, more often implicitly, embodies a reminiscence of the victor's coronation and proclamation. Pindar understood this, and created the metaphor we have been studying here, the metaphor based on a functional identity between singing and crowning in an epinician context.²⁹

This is the metaphor employed by Pindar at *Olympian* 1.8-9, where the verb ἀμφιβάλλεται has only one necessary association with a crown: it denotes the placing of a crown, it has nothing to do with the crown's shape or texture, everything to do with the activity of crowning someone. Given the fact that this is an epinician poem, the crown involved should be the victor's; and since through the operation of metaphor we are dealing not only with a crown but with a song that does what a crown does, we have all the more reason to expect the metaphor to operate in epinician terms. It is therefore with some surprise that we find the crown not on the victor's brow in the next moment, but, apparently, around the minds or thoughts of the poets themselves. This may have been the way in which the ancient scholiast envisioned it, taking *μητίεσσι* as a locative; it is certain however that Slater saw it so: he interpreted the metaphor precisely as Boeckh had hesitated to interpret it nearly a hundred fifty years before.³⁰ What

²⁸ The only exceptions are *Pythian* 6 and 7. In Bacchylides the only exceptions are probably due to the fragmentary state of the odes in question, 8, 12, and 14.

²⁹ Euripides also uses στεφάνωμα to define the act of celebrating someone in song. See *Heracles* 347ff (text according to Wilamowitz [Berlin, 1895] I 192). Here Euripides, as Wilamowitz saw (II 84, 86), modulates a dirge into a song of praise by using just the expression needed to transform a song at the tomb of Heracles into a crown: by coupling στεφάνωμα with ὑμῆσαι Euripides identifies the hymn about to begin as an epinician. Euripides was in fact the author of an epinician in honor of Alcibiades. See Page (above, n. 17) 755. See also C. M. Bowra, *On Greek Margins* (Oxford, 1970) 134-145.

³⁰ August Boeckh, *Pindari epiniciorum interpretatio Latina cum commentario perpetuo*, II 2 (Leipzig, 1821) 10.

Boeckh found impossible, however, Slater found acceptable: the song "crowns" the thoughts of the poets — the song that they are composing for the occasion sits on their thoughts as a crown sits on one's head. If this were true, Pindar's choice of a verb that elsewhere describes the victor's coronation would not conjure to mind that particular set of circumstances, but only the physical entity, only a crown of some kind. Due to the epinician and symposiac context, this of course is more appropriate than a reading of the metaphor which looks to the much more numerous but nonepinician parallels; yet while this view is superior precisely in that it comes closer to the epinician character of the metaphor, it remains in the end oblivious of that character. It is time to consider the metaphor in its own terms, to take account of its epinician resonance.

Pindar does not give us any hints that he is thinking of his song as in some way capable of *looking* like a crown; while on the other hand the very phrasing of the passage indicates that he is thinking of its resemblance to a crown in terms of what it *does*. Four parallels for this metaphor have just been considered: in each of them Pindar is engaged in the all-important process of announcing the name of his victor, as here.³¹ In each there is not only an ideal analogy between song and crown, based on their functional identity in an epinician context; there is also a concrete demonstration of the truth of that analogy: the song embodies the victor's coronation by repeating it, by incorporating the details of it into the poetic texture. Either the metaphor at *Olympian* 1.8–9 simply does not have this resonance, or it needs to be seen in a different manner from that in which both Boeckh and Slater saw it.

Boeckh, Slater, and others have taken the dative in *μητίεσσι* for a locative. This is the natural interpretation from the nonmetaphorical parallels. The metaphorical parallels, on the other hand, point not to the appearance of the crown, hence not to a song that sits *on* the minds of the poets like a crown; rather they point to the *role* played by the crown in manifesting and glorifying the victor. This, as we have seen, involves the whole complex of events at the site of the games, a complex in which the crown occupies a central position, and which Pindar here identifies as the source of his song. The crown therefore has no business sitting on the minds of the poets; it is in their minds in another sense — they think about it until they have composed a song that does what the victor's coronation had done at Olympia. The song becomes a

³¹ The same metaphor, with the pronoun taking the place of the victor's name, occurs again near the end of the ode, lines 100ff.

coronation *through* the devisings of the wise, and it is in this *instrumental* sense that the dative in *μητίεσσι* ought to be taken. As for *μήτις* itself, the only Pindaric parallel occurs in *Nemean* 3.6-9:

διψῇ δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου,
 ἀεθλονικία δὲ μάλιστ' αἰοιδὰν φιλεῖ,
 στεφάνων ἀρετᾶν τε δεξιωτάταν ὀπαδόν.
 τᾶς ἀφθονίαν ὀπαζε μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἄπο.

Here *μήτις* denotes the poetic faculty. It bears the same denotation at *Olympian* 1.8-9, where the dative in question has, in fact, been taken for an instrumental before,³² but without appreciation of the epinician character of the whole expression. The instrumental is better than the locative, however, precisely because it would not ignore the epinician force of both verb and context, or deflect interest away from the victor at a crucial moment — on the contrary, it would allow the metaphor to do everything we would expect it to do in the context in which it appears.

Within that context there are three developments to be discerned: first, Pindar alludes to the events at Olympia, specifically the triumph and coronation of Hieron; second, he mentions the inspiring effect that those events have on the minds of the poets who witness them; and third, he depicts that inspiration setting in motion a process whose ultimate aim is the singing of the present ode. The climax of the whole development thus comes with the infinitive *κελαδεῖν*, used with the original final force of the infinitive to express the purpose and fulfilment of the poetic meditation implied in the noun *μητίεσσι*.³³ The emphasis

³² According to William Gifford Cookesley (*Pindari carmina* [Eton, 1851] I 77), C. L. Kayser in *Lectiones Pindaricae* (Heidelberg, 1840) interpreted “an epinician song is put round the head [of the victor] by the genius of the poet.” Kayser’s interpretation was also accepted by Rudolf Rauchenstein, *Zur Einleitung in Pindars Siegeslieder* (Aarau, 1843) 32-33 and n. 1. The *Paraphrasis benedictina* runs “unde celeberrimus hymnus a doctis viris contextitur, ut Jovem Saturni filium canant...” (Henry Huntingford, *Pindari carmina* [London, 1821] 5). ἀμφιβάλλεται, however, cannot be translated “contextitur.” Christian Gottlieb Heyne, *Pindari carmina* (Göttingen, 1798) 5, also implied an instrumental (“διὰ μήτιος: poetarum curis”), but he did not accept the crown as the metaphorical reference.

³³ On the final force of the infinitive, see Gildersleeve, (above, n. 6) 130; Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 1473a, 1969; Meillet and Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, 904. A literal translation of the whole passage would run as follows: “whence the song becomes a coronation through the devisings of the wise, in order that they might cry aloud the son of Kronos as they come to the rich happy hearth of Hieron, who wields the scepter of justice in Sicily.” We should not be greatly surprised to find Zeus

here is on the skill of the poet who through the exercise of his art transforms the victor's coronation into a song. This he accomplishes not by wearing the song as if it were a garland encircling his thoughts but by thinking about it until he produces a song that can do what the victor's coronation had done, only better. It is perhaps worth noting finally that Pindar is, as far as we can tell, alone in this creative and revelatory response to events at Olympia and elsewhere. For while Bacchylides always mentions the victor's name and crown together, he never illuminates the origins of the procedure. Pindar in this bold passage is proud of his art, and he had reason to be.

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
BOSTON

mentioned before Hieron, even though it is Hieron's crown that is in question. After all, he received the crown at Zeus's altar and owes it to Zeus's favor. It is easy to demonstrate from Pindar's employment of hymnal diction that he usually keeps the religious character of the coronation at the sacred games in mind. For the sequence games, god, victor, see also *Nemean* 1.4-7, 2.1-3, 3.7-11, 3.15, 4.6-11, and *passim*.

BIRDS 593-595: A NOTE

DAVID GILL, S.J.

IN line 592 the hoopoe asks Pisthetairos how the birds, if they do replace the gods, will be able to make men rich, since this is what men most desire from the gods. His answer (593-595):

τὰ μέταλλ' αὐτοῖς μαντευομένοις οὔτοι δώσουσι τὰ χρηστά,
τάς τ' ἐμπορίας τὰς κερδαλέας πρὸς τὸν μάντιν κατεροῦσιν,
ὥστ' ἀπολείται τῶν ναυκλήρων οὐδεῖς.

The mention here of mines (the MSS reading) has seemed objectionable to some editors. Cobet emended to *μεν ἄλλ'* a reading adopted by Rogers in the *LCL* edition. Van Leeuwen accepted the emendation in principle and transposed as follows: *μαντευομένοισι τὰ τ' ἄλλ' αὐτοῖς κτλ.* Van Leeuwen cites as his principal objection to the MSS reading the consideration that the mention of mines here is anticlimactic in view of lines 599-600, where it is stated that the birds will show men where treasures of silver have been hidden in the ground by previous generations. But they are hidden treasures and not mines at all. Hall and Geldart in the *OCT* retain the MSS reading.

A text that may be relevant to the question and that I have not seen adduced is Plutarch *Nikias* 4.2. Plutarch states: "In a dialogue of Pasiphon it is said that [Nikias] sacrificed daily to the gods: καὶ μάντιν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας προσεποιεῖτο μὲν αἰεὶ σκέπτεσθαι περὶ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων· ἐκέκτητο γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λαυρεωτικῇ πόλῃ, μεγάλα μὲν εἰς πρόσδοτον οὐκ ἀκινδύνους δὲ τὰς ἐργασίας ἔχοντα . . .

Pasiphon was apparently a student of Menedemus of Eretria (ca. 339-ca. 265 B.C.). The context of his remarks is not known. In fact, the Plutarch passage seems to be the only place that refers to a genuine work of Pasiphon. Cf. K. von Fritz, *PWK* (1949), s.v. Pasiphon (2). Von Fritz argues that the attributions to Pasiphon that are found in Diogenes Laertius 6.73, 2.61, 2.105, are all false.

There is reason to believe that Aristophanes' reference to persons who consult oracles about mines in order to become rich contains a hit at Nikias and that the Athenian audience would have understood

it as such. We have no way of knowing the source of Pasiphon's story, though it is not unlikely that it goes back to some now lost fifth-century comic writer, as such stories often do. Nor do we know for certain from any other source that Nikias' house-prophet was in any way the subject of jokes at Athens during his lifetime. Yet despite this, there are indications which make it at least probable that a joke is intended and that it would not have passed unnoticed.

1. Nikias' wealth, piety/superstition, and worrisome nature were all but proverbial — as the Pasiphon story itself illustrates. They are well documented in the fifth-century sources.

2. Nikias' investment in the Laureion mines was really quite spectacular. Xenophon says that he had a thousand men employed there (*Poroi* 4.14) and that he had paid a talent for a foreman for them (*Mem.* 2.5.2). It is difficult to imagine that any individual in Athens had a greater interest in the mines. Cf. MacDowell's note on *Wasps* 659 (Oxford, 1971).

3. At the time of the production of *Birds* (Great Dionysia 414 B.C.) Nikias was very much in the news. He and Lamachos had been in command in Sicily since the exile of Alkibiades, and preparations for the offensive against Syracuse were being completed after the winter at Katane. Cf. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (Berkeley, 1972), 145–146.

4. Nikias comes in for a couple of mentions elsewhere in *Birds*. In line 363 Euelpides compares Pisthetairos with Nikias as a military engineer: *ὑπερακοντίζεις σὺ γ' ἤδη Νικίαν ταῖς μηχαναῖς*. Van Leeuwen incorrectly refers this passage (and line 639, below) to Nikias' siege of Syracuse. The siege did not begin, however, until *after* the production of the play.

In lines 639–641 Aristophanes coins a word which plays on Nikias' characteristic caution:

καὶ μὴν μὰ τὸν Δι' οὐχὶ νυστάζειν ἔτι
 ὥρα 'στὶν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ μελλονικῖαν,
 ἀλλ' ὥς τάχιστα δεῖ τι δρᾶν.

The reference, as Merry suggests (*ad. loc.*), is probably to Nikias' hesitancy about sending the expedition to Sicily in the first place; certainly not to operations at Syracuse.

The reference to the reduction of Melos in line 186 has been seen by some as possibly an indirect reference to Nikias. But there is no

direct evidence that Nikias was even involved in that incident. Cf. Gomme and Dover on Thuc. 5.116.3.

5. *Knights* 353ff may contain a parallel instance of a joke about Nikias and the mines. The Paphlagonian and the Sausage-seller have just begun their exchange of insults and vulgar boasts in 353ff:

PAPHLAGONIAN: Who is this fellow you're putting up against me? Why I'll gulp some hot tunny and wash it down with a pot of unmixed wine; and then I'll really let the Pylos generals have it.

SAUSAGE-SELLER: I'll knock off some tripe and a pig's gut and put down my soup unwashed, and then I'll throttle the orators and shake up Nikias.

.....
PAPHLAGONIAN: But you won't feast on sea-pike and then screw the Milesians.

SAUSAGE-SELLER: After I've eaten my ribs I'll buy some mines though.

The precise point of the reference to buying mines is obscure. R. A. Neil (ad loc.) suggests that "there may be some allusion here to a financial rivalry with Nicias." Merry (ad loc.) suggests a possible (otherwise unattested) reference to fraudulent mining transactions by Kleon. Van Leeuwen tentatively concurs. The Pylos generals appear in 355, and there is talk of causing Nikias some discomfort in 358. The buying of the mines in 362 is meant to top the Paphlagonian's boast that he will maltreat the Milesians. Presumably the buying is to be understood as somehow causing distress for someone. The nature of that distress is not clear. That Nikias was the one who is thought of as suffering it seems a reasonable conjecture in the context.

It should be noted — though the argument here does not depend on it — that it has long been thought that one of the slaves in the *Knights* was meant to represent Nikias. Certainly the slave who speaks in lines 40ff is meant to remind us of Demosthenes. His reference to his having "kneaded a Lakonian loaf in Pylos" (54-55) makes that clear enough. On the identification of his colleague, Dover (p. 95) cites one of the ancient hypotheses: "*It seems* that the character who speaks first is Demosthenes . . . *They say* that of the two slaves one is Demosthenes and the other Nikias, *to make* both of them politicians" (Dover's italics). His comment: "This interpretation is reflected in the *dramatis personae* and the sigla of the medieval text, but the manner of its expression shows that it is interpretation, not continuous tradition, and it may not be justified."

In conclusion, therefore, while the point does not allow of absolute proof, there seems to be enough evidence to make it worth suggesting that a reference to consulting oracles and seers about getting rich in mining in the context of *Birds* 593-595 would be enough to raise a chuckle at Nikias' expense in Aristophanes' audience.

BOSTON COLLEGE

THUCYDIDES' ETHICS AS REFLECTED IN THE DESCRIPTION OF STASIS (3.82-83)

LOWELL EDMUNDS

THE question of Thucydides' ethics has usually been posed in terms of his opinion of the Athenian Empire. A recent study of ethics in the age of Thucydides speaks of the historian's "obsession . . . with the question whether the Athenian Empire was immoral."¹ De Romilly concluded her celebrated study of Thucydides' concept of Athenian imperialism with a section entitled "De la politique à la morale," in which she called the opposition between force and justice the crowning point of Thucydides' work.² How, according to Thucydides, this opposition is to be resolved, is not clear. Practically every interpretative study of Thucydides has had to face the question, and yet, as K. J. Dover states in the recent *Greece and Rome* survey on Thucydides, "the attitude of Thucydides towards success, failure, right and wrong remains a problem."³

This problem can, however, be divided into two parts. Thucydides shows ethical concern not only for relations between cities but also for the relations of citizens within the individual city.⁴ Such passages as the conclusion to the description of the great plague (2.53), the observations on the decline in Athenian statesmanship after Pericles (2.65), and the judgments on individuals, which often bear on the individual's relations to his fellow citizens⁵ — such passages clearly reveal a concern with the morality of life within the city. The question of Thucydides' ethics may, then, take this form: what principles should, according to Thucydides, govern political life within the city? An analysis of the

¹ J. L. Creed, "Moral Values in the Age of Thucydides," *CQ* n.s. 23 (1973) 213-231 at 225.

² J. de Romilly, *Thucydide et l'impérialisme Athenien*² (Paris 1951) 301 = *Thucydides and the Athenian Empire*, trans. P. Thody (Oxford 1963) 365.

³ K. J. Dover, *Thucydides* (Greece and Rome: New Surveys in the Classics, no. 7, Oxford 1973) 35.

⁴ G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London 1972) 16-18.

⁵ Thucydides' judgments on individuals are conveniently collected in the first chapter of H. D. Westlake, *Individuals in Thucydides* (Cambridge 1968).

description of stasis (3.82–83), and, in particular, of the passage in which Thucydides tells how words changed their customary and proper⁶ meanings in relation to deeds (3.82.4), may lead to an answer. Since Thucydides' position is explicitly one of censure (n.b. 3.83.1: *κακοτροπίας*),⁷ here Thucydides' ethical sympathies, if not a clear-cut ethics, should appear.

I have introduced a diagram of this passage, hoping to make more perspicuous than would otherwise be possible the sets of prestasis and stasis vices and virtues (table 1).⁸ Since the same sort of analysis (in terms of inversion of norms) is continued in 3.82.5, I have included this section, too, in the diagram. Having shown, as I hope, with some degree of probability the Spartan and oligarchic nature of Thucydides' ethical sympathies in this passage, I then compare Hesiod's account of the Iron Race (*Op.* 174–201) with the corresponding elements in the stasis description (3.82–83).⁹ This comparison shows that Thucydides' ethical sympathies are not simply a matter of class feeling but reflect an archaic pattern of ethical thought.¹⁰ My study, then, defines the

⁶ W. Wössner, *Die synonymische Unterscheidung bei Thukydides und den politischen Rednern der Griechen* (Würzburg 1937) 31, in the context of an analysis of 3.82–83 in terms of synonymic (pp. 29–37). Wössner refrains from mentioning Prodicus in this section, though it is implicit that Prodicus stands behind Thucydides' technique of analysis. The influence of Prodicus on Thucydides has been assumed from the time of Marcellinus (*Vita Thuc.* 36), but, in the absence of sufficient evidence for Prodicus' methods, cannot be proved or disproved.

⁷ Paul Shorey, "The Implicit Ethics and Psychology of Thucydides," *TAPA* 24 (1893) 66–88, chooses not to take such judgments seriously. For Shorey, Thucydides is an "ethical positivist" and consistent "intellectualist." "Even where Thucydides' ethical language is not distinctly cynical, it is singularly lacking in warmth and depth of feeling" (73). It is odd that Lionel Pearson, "Popular Ethics in the World of Thucydides," *CP* 52 (1957) 228–244, did not bring the stasis description into an otherwise useful discussion of what Thucydides took to be the moral standards of the prewar Greek world. In Pearson's article I would call attention especially to the reflections on the *Philoctetes* and its relation to the problem of Thucydidean ethics (241–242).

⁸ I have adopted a diagram proposed by John Ramsey in a seminar on Thucydides at Harvard in 1973.

⁹ I leave 3.84 out of account, considering it spurious. So far as I know, only E. Schwartz defended it as genuine. His view was, I believe, refuted by G. Jachmann, "Ein Kapitel des Thukydides," *Klio* n.s. 15 (1940) 235–244.

¹⁰ See the interesting remarks of H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley 1971) 137–144. My study tends to confirm his view that Thucydides' world "is the world of traditional Greek religion" (144). His long footnote 68 (pp. 205–206) is an important reflection on the ethics of Thucydides. See also Leo Strauss, "Thucydides' Peloponnesian War," in *The City and Man* (Chicago 1964) 145–154.

ethics of Thucydides rather more exactly than do those who see only an overriding "tragic" compassion,¹¹ and finds that Thucydides' ethical analysis reflects not a "scientific" but a traditional cast of thought. The results of this study are, of course, qualified by the limited amount of material that it takes into consideration.¹²

1. THE ETHICS OF THUCYDIDES AS REFLECTED IN 3.82.4-5

A. Unreasoning boldness (τόλμα ἀλόγιστος) is the first of two prestasis vices named by Thucydides. He uses the same phrase of the assassination of Hipparchus by Harmodius and Aristogeiton (6.59.1; cf. 6.54.1: τόλμημα), an act for which Thucydides has not the slightest admiration. The Corinthians call the Athenians reckless (τολμηταί: 1.70.3), and Thucydides corroborates their view in a passage in which he points out that the Spartans were the opposite (ἄτολμοι: 8.96.5). The opposite of this Athenian recklessness is the prestasis virtue of provident delay (μέλλησις προμηθής), characteristic of Spartans.¹³ The Corinthians call the Spartans cunctators (μελληταί: 1.70.4; cf. 1.69.4) and Archidamus, the most Spartan of Spartans, defends this trait as being the same as sophrosyne, the quintessential Spartan virtue (1.84.2).

In stasis, unreasoning boldness is called loyal manliness and provident delay is called cowardice concealed under a fair name. Three of the four prestasis virtues are renamed pretexts for cowardice (A, εὐπρεπής; B, πρόσχημα; C, πρόφασις). "Manliness" is the prime virtue,

¹¹ O. Luschnat, "Thukydes," *RE* supp. 12, cols. 1086-1354 (Stuttgart 1971), devotes three columns (1250-1252) to "Die moralischen Massstäbe des Th." Luschnat finds that Thucydides is compassionate in the face of human suffering that lies beyond moral categories and expresses his compassion in *anteilnehmende Darstellung*. This, despite Luschnat, is not very different from the *Bedauern* found by H.-P. Stahl, *Thukydes: Die Stellung des Menschen im geschichtlichen Prozess* (Zetemata 40: Munich 1966). See Stahl's index s.v. Tragik. Kurt von Fritz, also stressing the humanity of Thucydides, says that the *History* takes on "einen tragischen Zug" (*Die Griechische Geschichtsschreibung* I [Berlin 1967] 807). Ernst Topitsch, "ἄνθρωπιὰ φύσις und Ethik bei Thukydes," *WS* 61-62 (1943-1947) 50-67, sees Thucydidean history as a tragic collision of human nature and morality.

¹² I hope to pursue this line of interpretation in studies of the Plague, of the Mytilene Debate, and of the Melian Dialogue.

¹³ The adjective προμηθής occurs only in Thucydides of fifth-century prose authors. Would it have suggested Prometheus? (Cf. Aesch. *PV* 85-86.) If so, the adjective would give a Hesiodic flavor, which would be in keeping with the connections between Thucydides 3.82.4-5 and Hesiod discussed in section 2 of this paper.

"cowardice" the prime vice under conditions of stasis (*A*, ἀνδρεία; *B*, ἀνάνδρου; *C*, ἀνδρός). The words of Cleon show how delay could be censured as cowardice. In 425 B.C. Cleon said that if the generals were men (εἰ ἄνδρες εἶεν οἱ στρατηγοί: 4.27.5), it would be easy to capture the Spartans on Sphacteria; and by this time, as the evidence of Aristophanes' *Knights* shows, ἀνὴρ was a catchword in Athens (177ff; 222; 333ff; 1051ff).¹⁴

B. What was before stasis called moderation (τὸ σῶφρον)¹⁵ was now called an excuse for cowardice and "an intelligence which can grasp the whole [τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν ξυνετόν] amounted to inactivity in everything."¹⁶

The first of these virtues, sophrosyne, is a Spartan characteristic, as the Corinthians say (1.68.1), and Thucydides in his own voice says of the Chians that they were the only ones besides the Lacedaemonians who combined prosperity with moderation (ἐσωφρόνησαν: 8.24.4). It has often been noticed that Thucydides never uses sophrosyne or a related word of the Athenians and that sophrosyne is not mentioned by Pericles in any of his speeches in Thucydides.

An indication of the historian's own point of view can be found in the fact that, while he recognizes that σῶφρων may be nothing more than an oligarchic slogan,¹⁷ he will use sophrosyne to describe the independent oligarchy achieved by some of Athens' allies in 411 B.C., which he contrasts with the "festering" (i.e., seeming) good government

¹⁴ G. Grossmann, *Politische Schlagwörter aus der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges* (Zurich 1950), is aware of earlier evidence for ἀνὴρ in the sense in which Cleon uses the word in Thuc. 4.27.5 (p. 114, n. 26) but believes that it became a catchword in Athens in consequence of Cleon's famous boast. He thus only glances at Thuc. 3.82.4-5 (pp. 114-115), a passage that suggests that this catchword was in existence in 427 B.C. and became prevalent in the Greek cities (3.82.1). Of course ἀνὴρ in the sense "real man" is common in Greek authors beginning with Homer: see LSJ⁹ s.v. ἀνὴρ (IV).

¹⁵ The translation of τὸ σῶφρον used here is, of course, only a stopgap. For some of the associations of this word, see Grossmann (n. 14 above) 70-89; C. E. Freiherr von Erffa, "Aιδώς und verwandte Begriffe in ihrer Entwicklung von Homer bis Demokrit," *Philologus* supp. 30: 2 (1937) 125-127, 168-171, 185-186. The discussion of sophrosyne in Thucydides by H. North, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature* (Ithaca 1966) 100-115, is valuable. "... The word itself ... is usually treated as Spartan and oligarchic. Nothing in Thucydides' allusion to sophrosyne is more significant than this fact, which beyond doubt reflects contemporary opinion" (102).

¹⁶ The translation is by A. E. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* II (Oxford 1956) 375.

¹⁷ In 3.82.8 Thucydides says that ἀριστοκρατία σῶφρων was the slogan of what we would call the oligarchs (cf. 3.82.1: τοῖς ὀλίγοις).

TABLE I

Prestasis		Stasis	
	Virtue	Vice	Vice
82.4			
A	{ μέλλησις . . . προμηθείης	Τόλμα . . . ἀλόγιστος	δουλία εὐπρεπής
B	{ τὸ σῶφρον	τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν ζυνετόν	τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα
C	{ ἀσφαλεία . . . τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι	τὸ . . . ἐμπλήκτως ὀξύ	ἐπὶ πᾶν ἄργόν
			ἀποτροπῆς πρόφασις
			εὐλογος
82.5	Virtuous Action	Vicious Action	Virtuous Action or Quality
			Vicious Action or Quality
D	{ ὁ ἀντιλέγων αὐτῷ	ὁ χαλεπαίνων	ὑπόπτος
E	{	i) ἐπιβουλεύσας τις . . . τυχῶν	ξυνητός
		ii) ὑπονοήσας ἔτι δευότερος	ii) τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκπεπληγμένους
		προβουλεύσας	i) τῆς . . . ἐταιρίας διαλυτῆς

(*ὑποῦλου εὐνομίας*: 8.64.5) that the Athenian oligarchs had fostered. "Things at Thasos thus turned out just contrary to what the oligarchical conspirators at Athens expected; and the same in my opinion was the case in many of the other dependencies; as the cities no sooner got a moderate government [*σωφροσύνην*] and liberty of action, than they went on to absolute freedom without being at all seduced by the show of reform [*ὑποῦλου εὐνομίας*] offered by the Athenians."¹⁸ Were it not for the contrast between true and sham oligarchy, one might have thought that Thucydides was speaking from the point of view of the cities or parties concerned when he used the word *sophrosyne*. As it is, *sophrosyne* must convey Thucydides' own estimate of the new regimes. He thus shows himself willing here to take the oligarchs at their own self-valuation, whereas in 3.82.8 he speaks of *σώφρων* as a specious self-justification, no better than the slogan of the opposite faction.

Although Thucydides' ethical sympathies as revealed in 3.82.4-5 are Spartan or oligarchic, he clearly did not believe that oligarchs were less likely to bring about stasis than the *demos* was. In 8.89 he describes the state of mind of the oligarchs in Athens, who for various reasons maintained that the present constitution (that of the Four Hundred) should be made more equal. He comments: "This was the political phrase of which they availed themselves, but the truth was that most of them were given up to private ambition of that sort which is more fatal than anything to an oligarchy succeeding a democracy. For the instant an oligarchy is established the promoters of it disdain mere equality, and everybody thinks that he ought to be far above everybody else" (8.89.3).¹⁹ The thought is reminiscent of Darius, the monarchist in the constitutional debate in Herodotus: "in an oligarchy, while many are exerting their energies for the common good, strong private enmities commonly spring up; for each wishing to be chief, and to carry his own opinions, they come to deep animosities one against another, from whence seditions [*στάσεις*] arise; and from seditions, murder [*φόνος*: cf. Thuc. 1.23.2: *φόνος . . . διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν*]; and from murder it results in anarchy . . ." (3.82.3).²⁰ The similarity between

¹⁸ The translation is that of R. Crawley, *Thucydides: The Peloponnesian War* (Modern Library: New York 1934). On this passage, see North (n. 15 above) 113. For *eunomia* and *sophrosyne* linked as conservative terms, see Aristophanes *Aves* 1540-1541 and, on these lines, R. A. Neil, *The Knights of Aristophanes* (Cambridge 1901; repr. G. Olms: Hildesheim 1966) 244.

¹⁹ Benjamin Jowett, *Thucydides Translated into English*² II (Oxford 1900) 402.

²⁰ The translation is that of H. Cary, *Herodotus* (New York n.d.) 207.

the two passages suggests that in 8.89.3, although he does not use the word, Thucydides is thinking of stasis, and that he thus regards stasis as a potentiality of oligarchy just as of democracy. His preference of the oligarchic virtues, as it is revealed in 3.82.4-5, is thus in no way "ideological" like the oligarchism of the Old Oligarch, who would presumably prefer any oligarchy to any democracy.

Returning to *B* in 3.82.4, τὸ σωφρον appears as a Spartan virtue that, under the conditions of stasis, suffered either derision (3.82.4) or debasement (3.82.8). Cleon represents the opposite of this virtue. Thucydides remarks concerning his insane boast that the moderates (τοῖς σωφροσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων) welcomed it, since they thought they would either be rid of Cleon or else they would have the Spartans in their hands (4.28.5). In this passage "the moderates" are a group contrasted with "the Athenians," and it may be for this reason that Thucydides says τῶν ἀνθρώπων and not τῶν πολιτῶν. The moderates are not a political party but merely individual observers of the political scene, biding their time. That time came for some Greeks, in Thucydides' view, in 411 B.C. (as in 8.64.5), and for Athenians in the same year with the government following the Four Hundred, the μετρία ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις (8.97.2). Whatever the phrase means,²¹ obviously Thucydides thought that the many had formed too large a component in the previous mixture.

In discussing the prestasis virtue of sophrosyne, one seems to have been led from Thucydidean ethics to the politics of Thucydides. But the distinction between the two realms is sharper for us than for him. It was not until Aristotle that a systematic account of ethics as distinct from political theory would be given, and still for Aristotle ethics was subordinate to politics (*EN* 1094 b. 7-10). Thucydides was not a political theorist, and he was not interested in political constitutions as such but as reflections of ethical attitudes. This state of mind is reflected in the Periclean Funeral Oration, in which only a few lines are given to the constitution as such (2.37.1), while the greater part of the section on the city is devoted to praise of the Athenian character (2.37.2-42.1). One can praise the city equally well with reference to its *tropoi* or to its *politeia*, since they are not felt as fundamentally distinct. Similarly, sophrosyne was for Thucydides both an ethical value and a form of constitution that deserved the name if it represented the value.

²¹ See G. Donini, *La posizione di Tucidide verso il Governo dei Cinquemila* (Turin 1969).

The second virtue in *B*, τὸ ξυνετόν, is the only one in 82.4–5 that is ambiguous.²² It appears as both a prestasis and a stasis virtue (cf. *D*). It was the prize that both sides wanted to win (3.82.7; cf. Cleon: 3.37.5). Thucydides attributes this virtue to the most divergent types, to the Spartans Archidamus (1.79.2) and Brasidas (4.81.2), to the Syracusan Hermocrates (6.72.2), to Theseus (2.15.2) and Themistocles (1.138.2–3: cf. 1.74.1), to the Peisistratids (6.54.5) and the Athenian oligarchs of 411 B.C. (8.68.4). With everything else in the prestasis column in table 1, one can show that the virtue tends to be Spartan or oligarchic and that the vice tends to be Athenian, but τὸ ξυνετόν is different. Anyone, Spartan or Athenian, may be intelligent in this sense.

But the possibility should be considered that Thucydides in *B* is speaking of a combination of sophrosyne and intelligence, which would obviously be akin to the provident delay of *A*. In the conclusion and climax of the stasis description, Thucydides laments the chaos in which the rash and stupid destroyed the restrained and intelligent, i.e., those who possessed the prestasis virtues just described (*A* and *B*). Intelligence was even its own undoing, since it led to just that rational scorn of the opposition that Pericles had recommended (cf. 3.83.4 with 2.62.4), which in stasis fell before the quickness of the preemptive strike. It was no longer possible to be both intelligent and restrained.²³

The combination of these qualities is mentioned by Thucydides only apropos of the Spartan king Archidamus (1.79.2) — perhaps an indication that Thucydides thought that it was only in a Spartan that the combination would occur. Athenians combine intelligence and

²² On ξύνεσις and related words in Thucydides see W. Müri, "Beitrag zum Verständnis des Thukydides," *MH* 4 (1947) 251–275 at 259–260; P. Huart, *Le vocabulaire de l'analyse psychologique dans l'oeuvre de Thucydide* (Paris 1968) 279–290. Bruno Snell, *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff des Wissens in der vorplatonischen Philosophie* (Berlin 1924) 40–59, is fundamental. He points out (55) that in Pindar, where the noun occurs for the first time, it is contrasted in both of two occurrences with τόλμα, just as it is implicitly in Thuc. 3.82.4 (cf. *A* and *B* in table 1). It is indicative of Thucydides' ethical stance that τὸ ξυνετόν should be associated with what we would consider "moral virtues," whereas in the sophists and Euripides it becomes purely intellectual — facile cleverness (Snell 56–59).

²³ πολυτρόπου in 3.83.3 calls for comment. The adjective is quite rare in classical prose. Plato uses it, but always in, as it were, quotation marks. It occurs three times in a poetically colored passage of Diogenes Apoll. (fr. B5D–K). πολυτροπή occurs in Herodotus (2.121.e3), the most Homeric of classical prose authors. In the light of these considerations Thucydides' πολυτρόπου might be taken as a deliberate Homericism, implying, like προμηθής (cf. n. 13 above), a traditional standard of judgment.

reflection with daring (2.40.3), and the day was past when anyone could successfully argue that democracy was unintelligent (as oligarchs did: 6.39.1; cf. Megabazus in the constitutional debate in Herodotus: 3.81.1; cf. also Pseudo-Xenophon *Ath. Pol.* 1.5; Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 32.2).

C. The second *prestasis* vice named by Thucydides is τὸ ὀξύ, "the small sharpness of a little soul," to quote Gomme's definition.²⁴ Yet by itself τὸ ὀξύ is not necessarily pejorative and thus Thucydides adds ἐμπλήκτως, so that the phrase will mean a frantic or rash quickness. Quickness is characteristic of Athenians. The Corinthians say they are ὀξεῖς, and Thucydides corroborates the Corinthians' description (8.96.5). Pericles regards it as a weakness of the Peloponnesians that they are unable to plan quickly (ὀξέως: 1.141.6), and Hermocrates fears that he cannot persuade the Syracusans of his strategy because, on account of their customary tranquillity, they will not be persuaded quickly (ὀξέως: 6.34.4). Dorians are slow; Athenians are quick. The *prestasis* vice was, then, a tendency of Athenians, an Athenian trait carried to the extreme of rashness.

The opposite quality is the virtue of planning ἀσφαλεία.²⁵ Gomme is wrong in asserting that *asphaleia* "cannot by itself be either a virtue or vice."²⁶ On the contrary, it is "a watchword of conservatism in Greece."²⁷ Pindar praises Dorian Corinth as the home of Eunomia, one of whose sisters is ἀσφαλῆς Δίκη (*ol.* 13.6–8). A passage in the last speech of Pericles shows that there were still conservatives in Athens who were talking about *asphaleia* (2.63.3).

D. In 82.5 not semantic inversions but inversions of norms are the subject. Before stasis, χαλεπαίνειν, the display of anger, would have been considered vicious, but now only the angry, violent man is trustworthy. Outside of 82.5, this verb occurs in seven places in Thucydides.

²⁴ Gomme (n. 16 above) II 376.

²⁵ For semantic reasons, Gomme (n. 16 above) II 376 doubted that ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι could stand but did not mention 3.20.1, where ἐπιβουλεύειν means βουλεύειν. This place was adduced by Steup in his valuable *Anhang* to Classen's *Anhang*, in J. Classen and J. Steup, *Thukydides* III (Berlin 1892) 274. Steup makes the crucial observation, which must guide interpretation of the sentence: "Nach den W. τὸ δ' ἐμπλήκτως ὀξύ...προσετέθη kann die ἀσφάλεια hier schwerlich anders denn als Ziel des entgegengesetzten Verhaltens erwähnt sein." *Asphaleia* and what goes with it constitute a virtue; πρόφασις, as the diagram makes clear, is a stasis vice (cf. A εὐπρεπής, and B, πρόσχημα). ἀποτροπή is to be explained from the middle ἀποτρέπεσθαι, as Steup says, following Stahl.

²⁶ Gomme (n. 16 above) II 376.

²⁷ Neil (n. 18 above) 203.

In five of these it has reference to a leader calming the angry passions of a mob (2.22.1, 59.3, 60.1, 5.63.2, 8.86.4) — an image that, because of the famous simile in *Aeneid* 1.148–154, seems more Roman than Greek.²⁸ In 82.5, however, it is not mob violence that Thucydides has in mind, but the violence of the individual, no doubt expressed in slanderling the opposition, i.e., in διαβάλλειν. This activity was characteristic of Cleon (4.27.4, 5.16.1; cf. Aristophanes *Knights* 64, 262, 288), who has already appeared as the representative of stasis vices. No doubt the shouting match between Cleon and the Sausage Seller in the agon of the *Knights* (284ff) is the comic version of the decline in political life to which Thucydides refers in 82.5. The quiet virtues of prudence and restraint (*A–C*) had gone under.²⁹

E. is climactic both rhetorically, with two double cola, and also as describing the practical outcome of *A–D*. *A–C* dealt with the reversal of ethical terms; *D* with the decline in political deliberation. *E* indicates the ensuing collapse of political life into a contest of treachery. Thucydides sums up 82.4–5 thus: ἀπλῶς δὲ ὁ φθάσας τὸν μέλλοντα κακὸν τι δρᾶν ἐπηγεῖτο, καὶ ὁ ἐπικελεύσας τὸν μὴ διανοοῦμενον. “Applause, in a word, went to one who got in first with some evil act, and to him who cheered on another to attempt some crime that he was not thinking of.”³⁰ It is to this theme that Thucydides returns in chapter 83, the conclusion to the stasis description.

To conclude the discussion of 82.4–5, the prestasis virtues, with the exception of τὸ ξυνετόν, are associated in Thucydides (as in other authors) with the Spartans and, in general, with a conservative outlook. The prestasis vices represent what, in terms of Thucydides’ *History*, are Athenian traits. The harshness and violence of political life described in 82.5 were already beginning in Athens with the ascendancy of Cleon.³¹

2. COMPARISON OF HESIOD *Op.* 174–201 WITH THUCYDIDES 3.82–83

In his general description of stasis Thucydides shows sympathy for an ethics that can be loosely defined as Dorian, conservative, and oligarchic. Only loosely, because there were Athenians, too, who, as

²⁸ Cf. V. Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil*, trans. G. Seligson (Ann Arbor 1962) 20–23.

²⁹ See A. W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility: A Study in Greek Values* (Oxford 1960) 247, on sophrosyne as a “quiet virtue.”

³⁰ Gomme’s translation (n. 16 above) 382.

³¹ See J. H. Finley, Jr., *Thucydides* (Ann Arbor 1967) 186–188.

the passage already cited in Pericles' third speech shows, maintained the same *asphaleia* that appears in the *History* as characteristically Spartan. They would undoubtedly have laid claim to all the prestasis virtues and have repudiated the prestasis vices. They would have pursued, or would have claimed to pursue, an ideal of conduct which overarched the differences between Athens and Sparta. Pericles tells them, in effect, that the existence of the empire means that their gentlemanly ideal is no longer virtuous but dangerous to the city and must be consigned to the past. In the stasis description, then, Thucydides deplores the passing of an ethics that was once shared by Spartans and at least some Athenians but that, in the time of the Peloponnesian War, had come to seem specifically Spartan, as Athens took on a distinct, and in many ways opposite, character of her own.

It would be wrong, however, to explain away Thucydides' ethical sympathies in 3.82.4-5 as the expression of class feeling by a disgruntled aristocrat. His outlook has deeper roots. The similarities between his general description of stasis and Hesiod's Iron Race are instructive. More fundamental than the national or the class character of the Thucydidean ethics discernible in 3.82-83 is the notion that a pattern of ethical behavior will always recur and that this pattern will be one of inversion, as the standard or expected values and norms of action are inverted. Detailed comparison of the two passages will establish this point. I shall quote the passage in Hesiod's *Works and Days* on the Iron Race, separating the lines into what I take to be the main sections: introduction (174-181); inversion of natural and sacrosanct relationships (182-188); inversion of standards of praise and blame (190-192); inversion of justice (192-194); conclusion (195-201).³²

- Μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' ὠφελλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι
 175 ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι.
 νῦν γάρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον· οὐδέ ποτ' ἡμᾶρ
 παύσονται καμάτου καὶ διζύου οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ
 φθειρόμενοι· χαλεπὰς δὲ θεοὶ δώσουσι μερίμνας.
 ἀλλ' ἔμπηξ καὶ τοῖσι μεμείξεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν.
 180 Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
 εὖτ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν.

³² I have quoted the Oxford Classical Text of F. Solmsen (1970). Since I agree with his view of line 189 (*si Hesiodi, alio tempore alio animo conceptus*), I leave it out of account. T. A. Sinclair, *Hesiod: Works and Days* (London 1932) ad loc., and Wilamowitz, *Hesiodos Erga* (Berlin 1928) ad loc., also considered the line spurious.

- οὐδὲ πατὴρ παίδεσσιν ὁμοίος οὐδέ τι παῖδες
οὐδὲ ξείνος ξεινοδόκῳ καὶ ἑταῖρος ἑταίρῳ,
οὐδὲ κασίγνητος φίλος ἔσσεται, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ.
185 αἰψὰ δὲ γηράσκοντας ἀτιμήσουσι τοκῆας·
μέμψονται δ' ἄρα τοὺς χαλεποῖς βάζοντες ἔπεσσι,
σχέτλιοι, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὅπιν εἰδότες· οὐδέ κεν οἷ γε
γηράντεσσι τοκεῦσιν ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῖεν·

[χειροδίκαι· ἕτερος δ' ἑτέρου πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξει·]

- 190 οὐδέ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔσσεται οὐδὲ δικαίου
οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ κακῶν ῥεκτῆρα καὶ ὕβριν
ἀνέρα τιμήσουσι·

δίκη δ' ἐν χερσὶ καὶ αἰδῶς
οὐκ ἔσται, βλάβει δ' ὁ κακὸς τὸν ἀρείονα φῶτα
μύθοισι σκολιοῖς ἐνέπων, ἐπὶ δ' ὄρκον ὁμείται.

- 195 ζῆλος δ' ἀνθρώποισιν διζυροῖσιν ἅπασι
δυσκέλαδος κακόχαρτος ὁμαρτήσῃ στυγερῶπης.
καὶ τότε δὴ πρὸς "Ὀλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
λευκοῖσιν φάρεσσι καλυψαμένῳ χροά καλὸν
ἀθανάτων μετὰ φύλον ἔτον προλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους
200 Αἰδῶς καὶ Νέμεσις· τὰ δὲ λείβεται ἄλγεα λυγρὰ
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι· κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔσσεται ἀλκή.

174-181. "Would, then, that I were not among the fifth generation of men, but had died sooner or been born later. For now the race is iron. Neither by day will they cease from trouble³³ and misery, nor by night will they cease to perish. The gods will give them sore cares. But still they will have some good mingled with their ills. Zeus will destroy this race of mortal men, too, when they are born with grey hair on their temples." The future tense does not refer to some state of things from which the present is exempt, but to a tendency, of which the present may be as representative as the future.³⁴ No doubt the scholiast is

³³ On the translation of *καμάτου* see J. Fontenrose, "Work, Justice, and Hesiod's Five Ages," *CP* 69 (1974) 1-16 at 11 n. 21. This word should not be translated "work" because work is what the iron men do not do.

³⁴ On the meaning of the future tense in this passage, see T. Rosenmeyer, "Hesiod and Historiography," *Hermes* 85 (1957) 257-285 at 276. He cites Schwyzer II 290. Cf. Wilamowitz (n. 32 above) on line 182: "H. entwirft ein Zukunftsbild, aber wir sollen empfinden, dass wir in der eisernen Zeit ihm nicht fern sind." Rosenmeyer's general account of Hesiod's concept of time is

right in speaking of the gray hair as an adynaton. It is impossible for men of the present race to be born with gray hair. If men should be born thus, it would mean that the nature of the human race had changed,³⁵ and that the iron age had come to an end. The conditions described by Hesiod will prevail until the portent of gray hair at birth, i.e., until the nature of the race changes. Thucydides expresses the same idea more directly by attaching a qualification to his prophecy of ever recurring stasis: "as long as human nature remains the same" (ἐως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾗ: 3.82.2). Both Thucydides and Hesiod, then, present the ills of man as endemic in his present nature. The historian and the poet are also alike in offering some slight hope of occasional mitigation of mankind's ills. Hesiod says that "they will have some good mingled with their ills" (179) and Thucydides that the sufferings (χάλεπά: 3.82.2; cf. Hesiod 178; χάλεπας) will always recur "though in a severer or milder form, and varying in their symptoms, according to the variety of the particular cases" (3.82.2).³⁶

worth quoting: "We are dealing here with a historical imagination which sees the past, and time in general, not as a steady flow toward the present, not as a continuum of clock-time within which human acts constitute the obverse of a steadily waxing, organically conceived χρόνος, but rather as a succession of epochs" (p. 267). He compares Tacitus *Agr.* 44: *intervalla ac spiramenta temporum*. If Rosenmeyer is right, it is not clear how he can also maintain that Hesiod's approach "has freed itself from the shackles of the mythological or theological perspective" (277), and has become historical in some modern sense. If one takes R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford 1946), as canonical, not even Thucydides is historical by modern standards (see 28-31).

³⁵ On such portents marking the end of an age, see Sinclair (n. 32 above) ad loc. An exact analogy that I have not seen cited in literature on Hesiod is the birth of Zāl in the Shāh-nāma of Ferdowsi (or Ferdausi), who wrote, perhaps in the 11th century A.D., a verse history of Persia from the creation of the world down to the subjugation of Persia by the Muslim Arabs. When Zāl was born, "his hair was entirely white, and for a whole week because of his strange appearance news of his birth was not brought to his father Sām." (The translation is by Reuben Levy, *The Epic of the Kings* [Chicago 1967] 35). Sām has the child exposed. It is nourished by a bird, and grows to manhood and succeeds his father. The servants of Zāl's future wife warn her: "In every company people point a finger at him and say that *no human being was ever born old of his mother* and that he cannot be truly of the stock of his begetter" (Levy 40; my italics). Thus Ferdowsi seems to reflect the same tradition as Hesiod, but in Ferdowsi nothing comes of the portent, except that after his exposure Zāl accedes to his father's throne. In other words, the portent that in Ferdowsi tokens the end of a regime, in Hesiod tokens the end of the iron race, i.e., of the human race as it now is.

³⁶ Crawley (n. 18 above) 189.

Thucydides' general conception of stasis resembles Hesiod's iron anthropology, then, in prophetic tone, in asserting recurrence so long as human nature remains what it now is, and in a slightly qualified pessimism.

182-188. "The father will not be in harmony with his children, nor the children with their father, nor guest with host, nor friend with friend, nor will brother be dear to brother, as before. They will dishonor their parents, who soon grow old, and rebuke them, addressing them with sharp words — wretches, not even aware of divine vengeance. Nor do they repay their old parents for their rearing." In the sentence concluding the account of events on Corcyra, Thucydides says that "fathers killed their sons"³⁷ and, in general, "kinship [*τὸ ξυγγενές*] became more foreign than party, for party friends were readier for action without demur" (3.82.6).³⁸ What Hesiod had prophesied came to pass in stasis. Natural and sacrosanct relationships were inverted. Piety disappeared (with Hesiod 187 cf. Thuc. 3.82.8: *εὐσεβείᾳ*). Hesiod's pattern of inversion worked itself out with only one exception: in stasis the relationship of *ἐταίρεια* was strengthened, not weakened as in Hesiod (183). In fact, it was the spirit of faction that destroyed the other relationships. This point of difference between Hesiod's pattern of inversion and Thucydides' reflects the strictly observed *political* limits of Thucydides' discussion, a matter to be commented on in the conclusion of this article.

190-192. "Not the least favor will be felt for the man who keeps his oath or for the just or good man. Rather they will honor the evildoer and the man of violence." This inversion is exactly what Thucydides has described in 3.82.4-5, a passage that he concluded with a statement of who was honored under stasis conditions: "Applause . . . went to one who got in first with some evil act . . ." The pattern of inversion adumbrated by Hesiod includes just that inversion of "the accustomed signification or words in relation to things" (3.82.4 *init.*) that Thucydides analyzes. Hesiod implies that the evildoer and the man of violence will receive the honor of the epithets "trustworthy," "just," and

³⁷ 3.81.5. So the singular without the definite article should probably be translated. Cf. *Ev. Marc.* 13.12. For filicide, cf. Sallust *Cat.* 15.2. For patricide in a revolutionary period, Tacitus *Hist.* 3.25.

³⁸ Gomme (n. 16 above) 384. For the thought, cf. Hesiod *Op.* 343-345. The antithetical quality of 345 implies a certain irony: one might have expected one's relatives to be one's closest friends, but one's neighbors are closer in every sense than one's own relatives. Cf. LXX *Prov.* 27.10; Trag. Adesp. 77;94 N³; Eur. fr. 902 N³, *Andr.* 889-890, *El.* 245. These references were given me by Professor Robert Renehan.

"good," since the man who deserves to be so called will be out of favor.

192-194. "Might will be justice, and there will be no sense of shame. The base man will harm his better, speaking crooked words, and he will swear an oath on what he says."³⁹ The inversion of justice takes the same form in stasis as in Hesiod's prophecy. Justice is replaced by its opposite, deception or sheer might (with Hesiod's ἐν χειρί cf. Thuc. 3.82.8: χειρὶ κτώμενοι). Pledges (3.82.6) and oaths (3.82.7; 83.2) are instruments of crime and deception.⁴⁰ Like Hesiod, Thucydides sees the inversion of justice in the ascendancy of the worse man over the better. This is the inversion, already commented upon, with which Thucydides concludes his general description of stasis (3.83).

195-201. "Zealous emulation, with its tongue of malice, loathsome face, and delight in evil, will accompany mortals, wretched all of them. And then hiding their fair skin in white robes, Aidōs and Nemesis will go from the wide-wayed earth to Olympus, leaving mortals for the company of the deathless ones. Terrible sorrows will be left to mortal men, and there will be no defense against evil." So Hesiod concludes his prophecy for the present age. It is the reign of the bad Eris (11-16; 28: κακόχαρτος; cf. 196). Zealous emulation (ζήλος) is rampant. Thucydides' diagnosis of the fundamental cause of stasis shows how the same zeal comes about: "The cause of it all was love of power to gratify greed and personal ambition; from that came the eagerness to quarrel [τὸ πρόθυμον] once strife had begun."⁴¹ Thucydides' πρόθυμον

³⁹ Or: "he will swear a false oath," if ἐπὶ . . . ὀμείται = ἐπιорκήσει (cf. *Il.* 10.332; Hesiod *Theog.* 793; *Op.* 282).

⁴⁰ There is an ethical inversion in that fact that ἡδίων διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἐτιμωρεῖτο ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς (3.82.7): in stasis, it was more pleasant to get vengeance through breach of trust than openly, whereas the opposite would have been expected. The ethical concept is reflected in Polybius' remarks on the treachery of Philip: "The ancients, as we know, were far removed from such malpractices. For so far were they from plotting mischief against their friends with the purpose of aggrandizing their own power, that they would not even consent to get the better of their enemies by fraud [δι' ἀπάτης; cf. Thuc. 3.83.7: ἀπάτη], regarding no success as brilliant or secure unless they crushed the spirit of their adversaries in open battle (ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς)" (13.3.2-3; trans. W. R. Paton, *Polybius: The Histories* IV (Loeb Classical Library; [London and New York 1925] 415). F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* II (Oxford 1967) ad loc, compares Livy 42.47.5 and Herodotus 7.9b1, commenting on the latter place; "This will represent democratic criticism of archaic procedure." Thucydides in 3.82.7 shows his preference for the older way of things, in which hostility is expressed openly and nobly.

⁴¹ Gomme (n. 16 above). In the Greek (3.82.8), it is clear that Thucydides saw three stages, related genetically, in this process: (1) ἀρχὴ ἡ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ

corresponds to Hesiod's ζῆλος. The desertion of mankind by Aidōs and Nemesis is the sign of general impiety (cf. 187). Similarly Thucydides observes how religious usage (θείω νόμω: 3.82.6) was abused or neglected,⁴² and piety was lost (εὐσεβεία: 3.82.8).

3. CONCLUSION

The several resemblances of Thucydides 3.82–83 to Hesiod's Iron Race show that the ethical analysis discussed in the first section of this paper reflects an archaic pessimism. The ethical inversions experienced in stasis are a particular expression of a general ineluctable tendency of human nature to invert the established and proper way of things. Stasis, as the expression of such a tendency, is inevitable and will recur. Solon had spoken of στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ' εὖδοντα (3.19D³), where "war" means civil war,⁴³ and the phrase is thus to some degree pleonastic after στάσιν ἔμφυλον, "intestine discord." For Thucydides, too, stasis is always at least dormant. If ἐκινήθη (3.82.1; cf. κίνησις: 1.1.2) has a Democritean sense, then one might say that war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians is, according to Thucydides' understanding, the "motion" that unites the eternal atoms of civil war, and brings it into being.⁴⁴

The comparison of Thucydides 3.82–83 with Hesiod's Iron Race also shows that the notion of ethical inversion is traditional in Greek ethical thought, which often finds not mere decline or degeneration but rather the exact opposite of the standard or expected values and norms of action. Some examples from poets after Hesiod will illustrate various forms that this habit of thought might take. One is humor. Archilochus boasts that he threw his shield away and saved himself by flight. In the same context in which Sextus quotes this ῥύψασπις fragment, he also quotes the words of the Spartan mother to her son as

φιλοτιμίαν; (2) out of these τὸ φιλονικεῖν; (3) out of this τὸ πρόθυμον. Cf. D. H. Abel, "Genealogies of Ethical Concepts from Hesiod to Bacchylides," *TAPA* 74 (1943) 92–101. In Thucydides, genealogical personification is, of course, out of the question; but there may be a trace of the genealogical habit of thought.

⁴² Cf. Dover (n. 3 above) 42.

⁴³ So D. E. Gerber, *Euterpe: An Anthology of Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac, and Iambic Poetry* (Amsterdam 1970) 133.

⁴⁴ For *kinesis* by itself, as distinguished from *dinos*, can have a cosmogonical function in the philosophy of Democritus: see my "Necessity, Chance and Freedom in the Early Atomists," *Phoenix* 26 (1972) 342–357 at 344–349.

she gives him a shield: he is to return from war "either with this or upon it." Sextus humorlessly offers the contrast between Archilochus and the Spartan mother as an example of ethical relativism, as if Archilochus were elevating his deed to an ethical norm. On the contrary, it is because Archilochus, too, was expected to stand and fight that the *ῥύσασπις* fragment has its antiheroic point. In the ensuing *ῥύσασπις* tradition throwing away one's shield continues to be an inversion of what is expected.⁴⁵

Aristocratic criticism of social and political life was also expressed in terms of inversions. Theognis finds that the aristocratic concept of arete has been inverted. The majority of men now consider wealth the only virtue, placing no value on sophrosyne, intelligence, eloquence, or swiftness of foot (699–728 Young²). From the same viewpoint, Bacchylides observed: "The noblest lot for a man is that his own work should make him widely admired among his fellows. I know also the mighty power of riches, which can clothe even the useless man with merit [τ[ὸ]ν ἀχρεῖον τί [θη]σι / χρηστόν]." ⁴⁶ Both Theognis and Bacchylides see money as an inversive force. The impoverishment of the aristocrats in Megara led to what Theognis described as a total inversion of the social order: "This city is still a city, but the people are other, who formerly knew neither justice nor laws but wore out goat-skins on their sides . . . and now they are the good men (ἀγαθοί) . . . Those who were formerly the noble (ἐσθλοί) are now the base [δειλοί]" (53–57 Young²).

Pindar expresses a similar thought. In the fourth Isthmian Ode he must apologize for the failures often experienced by his patrons until the recent victory of Melissos. He says: "There is obscurity of fortune even for those who strive, before they reach their utmost goal. For fortune gives both success and failure. And the guile of lesser men [χειρόνων] lays hand on and trips up the better man [κρέσσον]" (31–35 S-M). Pindar's example is Ajax. The apology rests, then, on a supposed inversion of the social order, which, Pindar implies, could only have come about through base guile.

Such an inversion can also occur when a man of low social position acts in a noble fashion. In Euripides' *Electra*, Orestes is astounded at the nobility of the peasant, his sister's husband (367ff). He regards this man's nobility as the sign of a "confusion" (368) in human nature,

⁴⁵ Archilochus fr. 6D³ = 5 West; Alcaeus fr. Z105L-P; Anacreon fr. 36P; Horace, *Carm.* 2.7.10.

⁴⁶ Bacchylides 10.47–51S-M. Translated by R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides: The Poems and Fragments* (Cambridge 1905) 319–321.

since he expects nobility of character only in men of noble birth.⁴⁷ It is perplexing to him to see the assumed natural order overturned: ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον παῖδα γενναίου πατρὸς / τὸ μηδέν ὄντα, χρηστὰ δ' ἐκ κακῶν τέκνα (369-370).

Another form of inversion is illustrated in the antiathletic fragments of Xenophanes and Euripides. The former complains of the confusion of standards by which the athlete's prowess is more highly regarded than the poet-philosopher's *sophia*: ἀλλ' εἰκῇ μάλα ταῦτα νομίζεται· οὐδὲ δίκαιον / προκρίνειν ῥώμην τῆς ἀγαθῆς σοφίης (fr. B2.13-14 D-K). Euripides, in a fragment of the *Autolycus* (282 N²), preserved in the same context with Xenophanes fr. 2 (Athen. 10.413c-f), makes the same complaint. The Greek *nomos* that honors athletes so highly is wrong (lines 13-15). Athletes are useless to the city. Honor should rather be given to the wise and the good, and to just and moderate leaders (lines 23-28). Euripides' thought is just the same as Xenophanes': the honoring of athletes constitutes an inversion of proper standards of merit.

In the fifth century, Thucydides is not the only representative of the tradition that expresses censure in terms of ethical inversion. In the popular mind, the sophistic ability to argue either side of a case equally well was a matter of making the weaker, i.e., the unjust, argument defeat the stronger, i.e., the just. In the *Apology*, Socrates distinguishes between his present accusers and his unnamed old-time accusers; including "a certain comic poet" (18d1-2), who spread the rumor about him that, among other things, he "made the weaker argument stronger" (18b8). The comic poet was, of course, Aristophanes. In the *Clouds*, Strepsiades has heard that Socrates and his associates can teach students to win cases arguing either side, the just or the unjust (99), and, to Strepsiades' mind, this ability causes the weaker argument to defeat the stronger (112-115). Such a victory is dramatized toward the end of the comedy. The weaker Speech, who is frankly unjust (900ff; cf. 657; 885), defeats the stronger Speech.⁴⁸ Ethical standards are simply inverted, and, as a result, the son beats his father, just as the father had once beaten the son.⁴⁹

In the historical charge brought against Socrates and in the *Clouds*

⁴⁷ As J. D. Denniston, *Euripides: Electra* (Oxford 1954) ad loc, observes.

⁴⁸ See K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes: Clouds* (Oxford 1970) lvii-lviii.

⁴⁹ Tyrtaeus 9.41-42D³ shows that unusual excellence could also result in an inversion of ethical norms: Tyrtaeus says that the brave warrior will have a seat yielded to him by his elders (whereas, according to the norm, young men give up their seats to their elders).

can be found the popular version of the ethical concept of inversion. Thucydides clearly reflects this popular belief, and he shares with Hesiod the notion that the pattern of inversion is inevitable so long as human nature remains the same. Yet Thucydides' analysis of stasis is original in important respects. Though Thucydides speaks of human nature, he sets out not to describe the human race, but to generalize the characteristics of a political phenomenon, stasis, and his analysis arises from a particular historical event, stasis on Corcyra. Furthermore, stasis as a general phenomenon is linked causally to the war. Thus the pattern of inversion is seen in exclusively historical and political terms, in the strife of factions within the polis. Human nature is mentioned, but Thucydides describes only a human nature expressed in political action.⁵⁰

But for all his indubitable, indeed overwhelming originality, Thucydides remains true to traditional ethical thought, both in the basic pattern of inversion which he shares with Hesiod and with popular ethics, and also in his sympathy for a conservative and, in his own terms, Spartan ethics. It has been said that "the Greeks regarded the most important moral distinction as that which separates those who stop and think before they act from those who yield to impulse."⁵¹

⁵⁰ The tradition of political analysis and criticism in terms of ethical inversion was continued by Plato and Isocrates. In *Rep.* 560d-e Socrates describes the genesis of the democratic man out of the oligarchic: "If any help be sent by his friends to the oligarchical part of him, the aforementioned vain conceits shut the gate . . . and they will neither allow the embassy itself to enter, nor if private advisers offer the fatherly counsel of the aged will they listen to them or receive them. There is a battle and they gain the day, and then modesty, which they call silliness, is ignominiously thrust into exile by them, and temperance, which they nickname unmanliness, is trampled in the mire and cast forth; they persuade men that moderation and orderly expenditure are vulgarity and meanness . . ." (*Plato's The Republic* trans. B. Jowett, [The Modern Library: New York n.d.]). Isocrates' criticism of the later Athenian democracy in *Areop.* 20 is also expressed in terms of inversion: "For those who directed the state in the time of Solon and Cleisthenes did not establish a polity which in name merely was hailed as the most impartial and mildest of governments, while in practice showing itself the opposite to those who lived under it, nor one which trained the citizens in such fashion that they looked upon insolence as democracy, lawlessness as liberty, impudence of speech as equality, and licence to do what they pleased as happiness, but rather a polity which detested and punished such men and by so doing made all the citizens better and wiser" (*Isocrates*, trans. G. Norlin II [Loeb Classical Library: London and New York 1929] 116-117). The similarity of these passages to Thucydides 3.82.4 has often been remarked; whether the similarity reflects imitation of Thucydides is a vexed question: see Luschnat (n. 11 above) 1276-1284.

⁵¹ K. J. Dover (n. 3 above) 36.

A glance at the column of prestasis virtues in the diagram suffices to show that this distinction was the most important one for Thucydides. These virtues might be summed up in forethought and prudence. In 3.82-83 Thucydides tells how these virtues were overturned and replaced by their opposites.⁵²

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

⁵² I am grateful to Professors Glen W. Bowersock, John H. Finley, and Jacqueline de Romilly for reading this article and discussing it with me. Professor Robert Renehan, with customary generosity, sent detailed criticisms and many references, which, by his leave, are for the most part unacknowledged in the footnotes.

TWO DOXOGRAPHICAL NOTES: DEMOCRITUS AND PRODICUS ON RELIGION

ALBERT HENRICHs

PHerc 1428 is one of the most fragmentary, most biased, and yet, owing to its relatively early date and wide doxographical range, most interesting catalogues of ancient philosophers and their opinions. Some two dozen fragments and fifteen successive columns of it are still extant in the Officina dei Papiri of the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples. They once formed the central piece (*midollo*) of a papyrus roll which contained the first part, or book, of Philodemus' *On Piety* with its two major thematic divisions: a devastating critique of the mythical conception of the Greek gods as propagated by Greek poets and mythographers was followed by an equally sharp criticism, from an Epicurean point of view, of the theology of Greek philosophers from Thales down to Diogenes of Babylon. The individual philosophers are listed in roughly chronological order, with further classification according to Sotion's scheme of Ionian and Italian successions and, for the philosophers after Socrates, according to school affiliation (Academy, Peripatos, Stoa).¹ The following inventory, which assigns whenever possible a philosopher to each extant fragment of *PHerc* 1428, is intended to remove some of the uncertainties that have all too often forced interested scholars to avoid *PHerc* 1428 and to turn instead to the similar doxography in Cicero's *De natura deorum* 1,10,25ff.²

¹ Cf. P. Steinmetz, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 48 (1966) 153–162, who identifies Socrates as the pivotal point in that “jungepikureische Sicht der Geschichte der Philosophie” which is reflected in both *PHerc* 1428 and Cicero. Socrates' name does not occur as a separate entry in Cicero's catalogue, and we may assume the same for *PHerc* 1428. (It is unlikely that Socrates was listed in the lacuna, of unknown length, between frs. 18 [Diogenes of Apollonia] and 19 [Prodicus]; Socrates was mentioned in fr. 20, on Xenophon, where his name is no longer extant [see Cic. *N.D.* 1,12,31].)

² Explanation of the symbols: names printed in Greek are still extant in the papyrus. Names printed in English are lost but the attribution is certain. Names in angular brackets are used where attribution is uncertain. *Incerti auctoris* shows that a doxographical fragment lacks sufficient criteria for an attribution. *Detrectator Epicureus* shows that the Epicurean criticism is extant (on its stereotyped formulae, see *GRBS* 13 [1972] 80ff esp. 83) but that the

Anaximenes	fr. 8 (3 ^d p. 65 Gomperz); ³ cf. <i>Dox. Gr.</i> pp. 531f
{Anaxagoras	fr. 9 (4 ^a p. 66 G.) = <i>VS</i> 59 A 48
{ <i>Detrectator Epicureus</i>	fr. 10, 1-4 (4 ^b p. 66 G.) ⁴
+	
<i>Πυθαγόρας</i>	fr. 10,4-8 (4 ^b p. 66 G.) = <i>VS</i> 14 no. 17
{ <i>Detrectator Epicureus</i>	fr. 11 (4 ^c p. 67 G.) ⁵
{<Xenophanes>	fr. 12,1-8 (4 ^d p. 67 G.); ⁶ cf. <i>Dox. Gr.</i> p. 534
+	
{ <i>Παρμενίδης</i>	fr. 12,9 (4 ^d p. 67 G.); cf. <i>Dox. Gr.</i> p. 534
{Parmenides	fr. 13 (5 ^a p. 68 G.); cf. <i>Dox. Gr.</i> pp. 534f
<i>Fragmenta dubia</i>	frs. 13 AB (<i>not</i> in Gomperz) ⁷
<i>Incerti auctoris</i>	fr. 14 (5 ^b p. 68 G.) ⁸
{ <i>Incerti auctoris</i>	fr. 15 (5 ^c p. 69 G.) ⁹
{ <i>Δημόκριτος</i>	fr. 16 (5 ^d p. 69 G.) = <i>VS</i> 68 A 75
{Heraclitus	fr. 17 (6 ^a p. 70 G.) ¹⁰ = frs. 79(b), 77(c) Marcovich; see D-K on <i>VS</i> 22 B 64, 67
{ <i>Διογένης</i> of Apollonia	fr. 18 (6 ^b p. 70 G.) = <i>VS</i> 64 A 8 ¹¹

doxographical summary which preceded it is lost. Braces illustrate physical connection of two or more successive fragments by their lower margins (an important criterion for establishing the original succession of philosophers in *PHerc* 1428). A plus sign between names shows that the actual transition from one philosopher to the next is still extant.

³ The fragment does not appear in Diels-Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (*VS*), except for a brief reference in I 93,4.

⁴ Since Alcmaeon precedes Pythagoras in Cic. *N.D.* 1,11,27, this critique seems to be aimed at Alcmaeon.

⁵ Circumstantial evidence (connection of frs. 11 and 12 by their lower margins) suggests that fr. 11 concludes the section on Pythagoras or, less likely for considerations of space and in view of the content of fr. 12,1-8, on Xenophanes.

⁶ Xenophanes precedes Parmenides in Cic. *N.D.* 1,11,28.

⁷ Two small fragments, each containing three lines followed by the lower margin, have been artificially inserted between frs. 13 and 14. Frs. 13 AB were first copied by M. Arman (see *CronErc* 4 [1974] 7) in May 1915; there is not enough text for identification of content.

⁸ Possibly Empedocles.

⁹ Possibly Protagoras and/or Democritus.

¹⁰ The papyrus preserves remnants of four more lines than the apographs. The most recent discussion is M. L. West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, Oxford 1971, 134 n. 1, 142, 144. I suggest the following text for lines 6-11: ἐν οἷς φησὶν [4-5 letters]ς "κεραυνὸς | π[άντ' οἰα]κίξει καὶ | Ζ[εὺς]". ἀποφ[αίνει] δὲ | κα[ὶ τὸ τῶ]ναντία | θεοῖ[ς εἰ]ῆναι, νύκτα | [ἡμέραν . . . (ἀποφ)αίνει in line 9 is the supplement of both A. Schober [see *GRBS* 13 (1972) 69] and West; line 8 was restored by Gomperz).

¹¹ Cf. W. Burkert, *Antike und Abendland* 14 (1968) 97f.

{ Prodicus	fr. 19 (6 ^e p. 71 G.)
{ <Plato>	fr. 19 A (not in Gomperz) ¹²
{ <Plato>	fr. 20, 1-12 (not in Gomperz)
+	
{ <i>Ξενοφῶν</i> (Socrates)	fr. 20, 20-30 (6 ^d p. 71 G.) ¹³ ~ <i>Mem.</i> 4, 3, 13
{ Xenophon	fr. 21, 1-7 (7 ^a upper fr. 1-7 p. 72 G.) and 8-12 (not in Gomperz) ~ <i>Mem.</i> 4, 3, 14
+	
{ <i>Ἀντισθένης</i>	fr. 21, 25-32 (7 ^a lower fr. 1-8 p. 72 G.) ¹⁴ = fr. 39 A Caizzi
{ <Speusippus>	fr. 22, 1-8 (7 ^b p. 72 G.) cf. <i>Dox. Gr.</i> pp. 538f
+	
<i>Ἀριστοτέλης</i>	fr. 22, 9-13 (7 ^b p. 72 G.) = fr. 26 Rose
<i>Detrectator Epicureus</i>	fr. 23 A upper half (not in Gomperz) ¹⁵
{ Theophrastus	fr. 23 (7 ^c p. 73 G.) ¹⁶
{ <Straton>	fr. 23 A lower half (not in Gomperz) ¹⁷
{ <i>Incerti auctoris</i>	fr. 24 (7 ^d p. 73 G.) ¹⁸

After a gap of one column or more, fr. 24 is followed by cols. i-xv, a continuous section entirely devoted to a detailed critical summary of Stoic theology (Cleanthes, Persaeus, Chrysippus, and Diogenes of Babylon are extant), which I have edited elsewhere.¹⁹

Comparison with the closely related catalogue in Cicero shows that the sections on Thales, Anaximander, Xenocrates, Heraclides Ponticus, and Ariston of Chios are lost entirely in *PHerc* 1428, whereas portions of the critiques of Alcmaeon, Empedocles, Protagoras, and Zeno seem to be extant but cannot be identified with certainty. For his part, Cicero omits both Heraclitus and Prodicus.

¹² Eleven lines, from the bottom of a column. Context (cf. *Cic. N.D.* 1, 12, 29-30 for the succession Diogenes-Plato, where Prodicus is omitted) and vocabulary point to Plato; the same is true for fr. 20, 1-12.

¹³ Lines 13-19 of fr. 20 are lost; lines 22-30 correspond to lines 1-9 in Gomperz; lines 10-11 Gomperz are *sottoposti* which belong to a preceding layer of writing.

¹⁴ Lines 13-24 of fr. 21 are lost.

¹⁵ For a preliminary edition of fr. 23 A upper half (which has no connection whatsoever with fr. 23 A lower half) see *GRBS* 13 (1972) 80-84.

¹⁶ Cf. *GRBS* 13 (1972) 94-97.

¹⁷ Seven fragmentary lines, from the bottom of a column. A *diple obelismene* between lines 2 and 3 indicates transition from one philosopher to another, presumably from Theophrastus to Straton.

¹⁸ Either Straton (continued) or Zeno (provided the succession is the same as in *Cic. N.D.* 1, 13, 35-14, 36).

¹⁹ *CronErc* 4 (1974) 5-32.

Preparation of a new edition of *De pietate* is in progress. In order to reduce the bulk of annotation in the future edition and to make interim results of interest available without delay, I here present a discussion of *PHerc* 1428 frs. 16 and 19, on Democritus and Prodicus respectively, which are thematically similar and have both been unduly neglected.²⁰

Democritus

PHerc 1428 fr. 16 (*N* 1428 fr. 16 = *HV*² II 5^a; *O* 1222)

 και[
 2 θέρος εν...[.....]
 χε[ι]μῶν και ἐ[αρ και]
 4 μεθόπωρον [κ]αὶ πᾶ[ν]-
 τα ταῦτα ἄν<ω>θεν δι-
 6 ειπετῇ γε<ι>νεται· *δι-
 ὁ δὴ και τὸ ἐξεργα-
 8 ζόμενον γνόντας
 ||||| σέβεσθαι. *οὐ φαίνε-
 10 ται δέ μοι Δημόκρι-
 τος ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τὸν

MARGO

1 per 20-21 vv. usque ad marginem superiorem (quae adhuc exstat) antecedit colluvio reliquiarum suppositarum ac superpositarum 1-3 om. *O* 2-11 *VS* 68 A 75 2 post EN def. *N* | possis εντξ.[vel ενχε.[: ἐν [τῇ γῇ και] Guil. Croenert, *Kolotes u. Menedemos* 130 adn.542, quod non quadrat 3 suppl. Croenert | post XE def. *N* 4 suppl. Croenert-Gomperz | de μεθοπ. pro μετοπ. scriptura vide Croenert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (1903) 152 adn. 5 5 ανοιθεν pap., *O*: -ωθεν *N*, Croenert (falso) 6 γεν-pap. | *spatium breviss. 9-10 incertum utrum paragraphum simplicem an diplen quam dicunt obelismenen praebuerit pap. 10 δεμ- legit Croenert: Δ[.]M- *N*, ΔHM- *O*: δ' ἐμοὶ Croenert 11 τὸν [κόσμον θεὸν δοξάζειν e.g., Croenert

... [that] ... summer ... , winter, spring, autumn, and all such phenomena, come from on high, heaven-sent; that not surprisingly, therefore, they recognized and worshipped the agent behind these occurrences.

But in my estimate, Democritus, unlike others, did not ...

Any argument which bears upon the content of this text is built on sand unless prior consideration has been given to the formal presen-

²⁰ I should like to tender my sincere thanks to the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant-in-aid which enabled me to recollate *PHerc* 1428 in July 1973. As always, Professor Marcello Gigante was of great help during my stay in Naples.

tation of the fragment as it appears in the papyrus. For it is only through a discussion of its external features that we can answer the question of authorship conclusively. This question still deserves to be treated seriously, although the correct answer to it has been known and taken for granted ever since W. Crönert first read and restored the text of lines 2–6, with which he compared Democritus' explanation of the origin of popular religion.²¹ Democritus as reported by Sextus Empiricus held that early man was in fear of the gods because he believed they were responsible for unexpected manifestations of celestial activities like thunder and lightning, comets, and eclipses of the sun and moon.²² On the sole strength of this comparison, scholars with little if any reservations,²³ have adhered to the opinion that the fragment in its entirety should be attributed to Democritus. Somewhat less confident, H. Diels saw fit to list the text under the testimonia rather than the fragments (*VS* 68 A 75), presumably because he considered its authenticity to be on the whole one of thought rather than language — another tacit assumption which needs to be reviewed.

²¹ W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Philosophen- und Literaturgeschichte* (C. Wessely, ed., *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, VI, Leipzig 1906; repr. Amsterdam 1965) 130 n. 542.

²² Sext. Emp. *Math.* 9,24 (*VS* 68 A 75): εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν κόσμον παραδόξων ὑπονοήσαντες εἰς ἔννοιαν ἡμῶς ἐληλυθέναι θεῶν, ἀφ' ἧς φαίνεται εἶναι δόξης καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος ὁρῶντες γάρ, φησί, τὰ ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις παθήματα οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθάπερ βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπὰς κεραυνούς τε καὶ ἀστρων συνόδους ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης ἐκλείψει ἐδειματοῦντο, θεοὺς οἰόμενοι τούτων αἰτίους εἶναι. Whereas according to Sextus visual perception of celestial phenomena by man resulted in fear of the gods, *PHerc* 1428 fr. 16 emphasizes recognition (γνόντας) of the divine power that led to worship (σέβασθαι). For the latter connection, which is more common, cf. Xen. *Mem.* 4,3,14: ἃ χρὴ κατανοοῦντα μὴ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀοράτων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν γιγνομένων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν καταμανθάνοντα τιμᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον; and the imitation in M. Antoninus *In semet ipsum* 12,28: οὕτως οὖν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐξ ὧν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν ἐκάστοτε πειρώμαι, ἐκ τούτων ὅτι τε εἰσὶ καταλαβάνω καὶ αἰδοῦμαι. Cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*² (Leipzig 1923, repr. Darmstadt 1956) 28 on *Acts* 17,23ff.

²³ The facts as known to him were stated with exceptional descriptive accuracy by W. Jaeger, *Die Theologie der frühen griechischen Denker* (Stuttgart 1953) 207f: "Philodemos nennt in der auf Papyrus fragmentarisch überlieferten Abhandlung *Über Frömmigkeit* im Zusammenhang mit dem Namen des Demokrit [Note: Jaeger did not say 'unter dem Namen des D.!'] noch andere meteore Vorgänge . . ." (Jaeger 205–210 remains the most reasonable treatment of Democritus' theology). Cf. Norden (above, n. 22) 398 on *PHerc* 1428 fr. 16: "Das Weitere ist nicht mehr erhalten, aber dass Demokrits Name in diesem Zusammenhang genannt wurde, wird begreiflich durch die Verse des Critias" (on which see below, n. 24).

For anyone familiar with the general layout of *PHerc* 1428 it will surely take more than the parallel passage in Sextus to carry conviction that fr. 16 should be given to Democritus. This comparison alone would be far from conclusive, if only because the thought which underlies fr. 16 could at least as easily be reconciled with the famous quotation from the *Sisyphus* of Critias. The genius, we are told, who invented the gods as superior watchdogs for the enforcement of law and order and who settled them in the sky did so not only because of the fears and terrors but also because of the many blessings visited upon mankind by meteorological phenomena, which he told his fellow men were the doing of the gods.²⁴ But a far more serious objection against the attribution of lines 1–9 to Democritus seems to emerge when we try to account for the striking combination of signals to the reader in lines 9–10 of the papyrus, which appear to mark the beginning of a new section: a sign, damaged at its tip, between lines 9 and 10, which now looks like a regular paragraphus but may have been originally a *diple obelismene*;²⁵ a blank space for punctuation in line 9, which separates the paraphrase, in reported speech, of the philosopher's doxa from the doxographer's own remarks; and finally, the name of Democritus, which comes *after* the section in lines 1–9 commonly attributed to him. Would it not be more reasonable to conclude that the combined effect of these signals is to mark the transition from one philosopher to another, i.e., from philosopher X to Democritus, rather than a change of subject matter within the section on Democritus? My answer, which is based on three different sets of data available only after the inspection of the papyrus, is a definite no.

First, the format for a new section. In the extant portions of *PHerc* 1428 we find seven unambiguous instances of a transition from one

²⁴ Critias *VS* 88 B 25 = *TrGF* 43 F 19 Snell, especially lines 27–36: ναίειν δ' ἔφασκε τοὺς θεοὺς ἔνταυθ' ἵνα / μάλιστα' ἂν ἐξέπληξεν ἀνθρώπους ἄγων, / ὅθεν περ ἔγνω τοὺς φόβους ὄντας βροτοῖς / καὶ τὰς ὀνήσεις τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ βίῳ, / ἐκ τῆς ὑπερθε περιφορᾶς, ἵν' ἀστραπὴς / κατείδον οὐσας, δεινὰ δὲ κτυπήματα / βροντῆς τό τ' ἀστερωπὸν οὐρανοῦ δέμας, / Χρόνου καλὸν ποίκιλμα, τέκτονος σοφοῦ, / ὅθεν τε λαμπρὸς ἀστέρος στείχει μῦδρος / ὃ θ' ὕγρὸς εἰς γῆν ὄμβρος ἐκπορεύεται. Cf. *Aët. Plac.* 1,6 = *SVF* II 1009 (p. 300,14ff): θεοῦ γὰρ ἔννοιαν ἔσχον ἀπὸ τῶν φαινομένων ἀστέρων ὁρῶντες τούτους μεγάλης συμφωνίας ὄντας αἰτίους, καὶ τεταγμένως ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα χειμῶνά τε καὶ θέρος ἀνατολὰς τε καὶ δυσμὰς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ζωογονούμενα καὶ καρπογονούμενα. It is typical for the Stoic position that the adverse aspects of the heavenly phenomena have been suppressed completely. The Critias fragment is quoted, but lines 33–34 only (p. 300,3f).

²⁵ *GRBS* 13 (1972) 95 n. 96; E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1971) 14f.

philosopher to another.²⁶ With minor exceptions, these transitions are marked by a combination of the following features: (a) a *diple obilesmene* after the last line of the old section; the only exception is fr. 22, 9ff = 7^b p. 72 Gomperz (incipit Aristotle), where no sign whatsoever appears in the margin — a case of scribal omission apparently due to sheer negligence; (b) a blank space after the last word of the old section, unless it coincides with the line end; (c) the philosopher's name which follows normally as the very first word in the new section or after a preposition, or, in one instance, after a brief transitional phrase;²⁷ (d) the exact title and, if applicable, book number of the philosopher's work on which the subsequent paraphrase or quotation is based.²⁸ When we apply these four criteria to fr. 16, it becomes obvious that damage to the papyrus and, consequently, to the marginal sign precludes any conclusion with regard to (a); that (b), in itself the most inconclusive, because the least specific, criterion of all, is indeed there; that as for (c), this particular case of extreme postposition of the philosopher's name, after a personal remark by the doxographer, is unparalleled in other extant instances; and finally, that (d) is missing or, less likely, formed part of the next column, which is lost. My conclusion, then: there is nothing in lines 9–10 that would convincingly indicate transition to a new philosopher, but there is substantial evidence, namely from (c) and (d), against such a transition.

Second, the format for section end. If it should indeed be true that lines 1–9 and 9–11 both refer to Democritus, one will reasonably expect the transition from the paraphrase of Democritean doctrine to the doxographer's comment on Democritus to be in some conformity with the practice observed elsewhere in *PHerc* 1428. But of only very few passages can it be said with certainty that they form the end of a section on a given philosopher. In two of these rare cases, however, we do have clear instances of a critical Epicurean tail being attached to the main

²⁶ *PHerc* 1428 fr. 10,4ff (Pythagoras); fr. 12,9 (Parmenides); fr. 21,27ff (Antisthenes); fr. 22,8ff (Aristotle); col. ii 28ff (Persaeus); col. iv 12ff (Chrysippus); col. viii 14ff (Diogenes of Babylon). Additional, though less certain, instances are fr. 20,4ff (Xenophon) and, presumably (below, n. 31), fr. 18,2ff (Diogenes of Apollonia).

²⁷ E.g., fr. 21,27ff: παρ' Ἀντισθένης δ' ἐν μὲν τῷ Φυσικῶι λέγεται . . . ; fr. 22,8ff: παρ' Ἀριστοτέλει δ' ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ φιλοσοφίας [; col. iv 12ff: ἀλλὰ μὴν] καὶ Χρυσί[π]πος . . . ; col. viii 14ff: Δ[ι]ογένης δ' ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς . . .

²⁸ See above, n. 27, and fr. 10,4ff: [Πυ]θαγόρου δ' αὐτοῦ μ[ὲν] οὐδὲν φασί τινε[s] εἶναι τῶν ἀναφ[ε]ρομένων παρὰ [. . . εἰς αὐτὸν βιβλίῳ].

body of the doxographic material.²⁹ But can the repetition of the philosopher's name be paralleled? There is at least one other example which is indubitable: later on in the papyrus, in the catalogue of Stoic philosophers, Cleanthes' name is repeated twenty lines before the beginning of the new section, which is devoted to Persaeus.³⁰ Diogenes of Apollonia could well be another example of a repeated name; but not enough of the context is extant to rule out completely the possibility that where Diogenes' name occurs we have the incipit rather than the explicit of his section.³¹

Third, the argument from context. Fr. 16 belongs to the same piece of papyrus that has also preserved frs. 15, 17, and 18. The four fragments, or remnants of four successive columns of text, are still connected by their original lower margins. A case could be made for the attribution of fr. 15 to Democritus rather than Protagoras.³² Frs. 17 and 18, whose identity is beyond doubt, deal with Heraclitus and Diogenes of Apollonia respectively. For *PHerc* 1428, therefore, we can establish the following succession of philosophers: Democritus (or Protagoras), philosopher X (fr. 16), Heraclitus, and Diogenes. This sequence is almost exactly repeated in the corresponding passage of Cicero's *De natura deorum* (1, 12, 29), where Protagoras, Democritus, and Diogenes follow each other. Except for the well-known omission of Heraclitus by Cicero, the sequence is in both texts sufficiently identical to provide *prima facie* evidence — though hardly more than that — for the attribution of fr. 16 to Democritus.

Technically speaking, then, the attribution is not only possible but highly advisable. It is only at this stage of the investigation that the traditional argument from content acquires its real cogency which makes Democritean provenance absolutely certain.

Now that we have satisfied ourselves of the correct identification of the fragment, we are free to consider its wording. Neither the vocabulary

²⁹ Fr. 10, 1–4 (above, n. 4); cols. x 8–xiv 24 (broad attack against Stoic theology in general). Frs. 11 (above, n. 5) and 23 A upper half (above, n. 15) are presumably section ends, but formal criteria other than context are not available.

³⁰ Col. ii 8f (not in Gomperz); Cf. *CronErc* 4 (1974) 13, 31 n. 73.

³¹ Fr. 18, 2ff = *VS* 64 A 8, which is preceded by a lacuna of approximately 10 letters and another fragmentary line.

³² For a variety of technical reasons, it is more difficult here than anywhere else in *PHerc* 1428 to recover the original text of the papyrus. The only coherent sequence of words verifiable on the papyrus is the very end of the fragment, which reads: . . . καὶ τὸ ἐρμηνεύσαι τοῦτο. Διὸς δὲ . . . The two key terms could possibly be reconciled with Democritus *VS* 68 B 30, and with his interest in the origins of language (B 26).

nor the style of lines 2-9 preserve clear traits of Philodemus' prose, which tends to be rather long-winded. It could be argued that Philodemus, while borrowing from an earlier Epicurean source, reproduced some of the writing habits of that source, which after all may have been Phaedrus, who was noted for his stylistic elegance, at least in his lectures if not his books.³³ But it would be idle to comment on the language of a writer who is not extant. It is surely more profitable to ask whether we can discover possible traces of Democritus' own diction in our fragment. With all due caution, I am inclined to single out three words as hardly Philodemian and possibly Democritean:

1. Ἄνωθεν (line 5) in the sense of ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ cannot be paralleled from Philodemus, as far as I can see,³⁴ but is common fifth-century usage, at least in Attic Greek.³⁵

2. Διειπετή (line 5f), a morphological and semantic crux that has repeatedly defied consistent explanation,³⁶ is likewise unparalleled in Philodemus. But what is more, for the meaning required in fr. 16³⁷

³³ Cic. *N.D.* 1,33,93. Cf. *CronErc* 4 (1974) 9f.

³⁴ In the three certain instances of ἄνωθεν listed in C. J. Vooyo's *Lexicon Philodemeum* (which is neither complete nor reliable), the meaning is "from the beginning" (i.e., from birth). But cf. *Epic. Rat. Sent.* XIII (Diog. L. 10,143) = *Gnomol. Vat.* 72: τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑπόπτων καθεστῶτων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς; and *Ep. Pyth.* (Diog. L. 10,104): ἀέρος τινὸς ἐπισυνωθουμένου ἄνωθεν.

³⁵ E.g., Thuc. 4,75,2: ὕδατος ἄνωθεν γενομένου. Eur. *Cycl.* 323: ὅταν ἄνωθεν ὄμβρον ἐκέρῃ. Xen. *Mem.* 4,3,14: κεραυνὸς τε γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἄνωθεν ἀφίεται δῆλον; *Conv.* 6,7: ἄνωθεν μὲν γε ὕοντες ὠφελοῦσιν [sc. οἱ θεοί], ἄνωθεν δὲ φῶς παρέχουσιν. For later examples, see W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, s.v., 1.

³⁶ H. Humbach, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 81 (1967) 276ff; R. Renehan, *RhMus* 115 (1972) 93ff.

³⁷ The etymological pun is unmistakable: διειπετής equals ἐκ Διὸς (as for the verbal component, the derivation is as much in doubt today as it was in antiquity), which occurs frequently as a gloss on δι(ε)ιπετής (schol. *Od.* 4,447; Eust. 1053,7ff; 1505,58ff; schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 43). Zeus is the sky personified. (Plat. *Prot.* 321a, αἱ ἐκ Διὸς ὥραι, is typical; cf. Luc. *Icar.* 2: διοπετής πάρεστιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ; Enn. scen. fr. 345 Vahlen²: *aspice hoc sublime candens quem vocant omnes Iovem* [quoted thrice in Cic. *N.D.*]. Identification of Zeus with αἰθήρ or ἄήρ was common since the time of Diogenes of Apollonia [*PHerc* 1428 fr. 18 = *VS* 64 A 8, cf. *Philemon* fr. 91,4 Kock = *VS* 64 C 4] and Euripides [frs. 877, 941 N.²]. *PHerc* 1428 col. v 24f [Zeus = *aithēr*] and col. vi 1ff [Zeus = *aēr*, inspired by Diogenes according to W. Theiler, *Zur Geschichte der teleologischen Naturbetrachtung bis auf Aristoteles* (Zürich and Leipzig 1925) 59f] provide Stoic examples [= *SVF* II 1076]. On Zeus Aitherios see L. Robert, *CRAI* 1971 [1972] 606f, 615.) Cf. T. Cole, *Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology* (Philol. Monogr. Am. Philol. Ass. XXV [1967]) 203 n. 4.

Hellenistic and later authors in general, perhaps with the exception of one very dubious instance in Plutarch,³⁸ use the secondary formation *διοπετής*, which is most likely a Euripidean coinage,³⁹ and not *δι(ε)ιπετής*. It may be relevant here, one way or the other, that Democritus, in *VS* 68 B 152, employs the more specific and slightly more prosaic epithet *διόβλητον*, in the unusual sense of "hurled by Zeus," with reference to the flash (*σέλας*) of lightning.⁴⁰

3. The verb *ἐξεργάζομαι* does not seem to occur elsewhere in Philodemus, although here coincidence is a likelier explanation than in the other two cases. But it is twice attested for Democritus, in ethical fragments that are certainly genuine.⁴¹ The use of the neuter for divine agency, however, was common in philosophical parlance at all times and is therefore irrelevant for our argument.⁴²

I realize that the linguistic evidence does not amount to much that would carry conviction. But in the case of a writer as language-conscious and at the same time as poorly documented as Democritus every word counts,⁴³ and we have a right and an obligation to catch at a straw, as long as we are aware of the precariousness of our support.

Little is known about Democritus' theology and his views on religion. But there is enough to show that like Protagoras before him and

³⁸ Plut. *Mar.* 21 (418 A): εἴτε δαιμονίου τινὸς τὴν γῆν καθαροῖς καὶ διυπετέειν ἀγνίζοντος ὕδασι καὶ κατακλύζοντος.

³⁹ M. Treu, *Glotta* 37 (1958) 273f.

⁴⁰ Cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 2,511f: διοβλήτου δὲ βελέμνου / ἐν σέλας ἔφλεγε . . . On Zeus' divine agency revealed in lightning, see Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus (*SVF* I 537 vv. 9ff) and Cic. *Div.* 2,18,42: *nonne perspicuum est ex prima admiratione hominum* [below, n. 48], *quod tonitrua iactusque fulminum extimuisent, credidisse ea efficere* [note τὸ ἐξεργαζόμενον in *PHerc* 1428 fr. 16] *rerum omnium praepotentem Iovem?*

⁴¹ *VS* 68 B 182, 264.

⁴² See Jaeger (above, n. 23) 233ff nn. 44–46 on τὸ θεῖον; *VS* III index, s.v. θεῖον; on Θεῖον as a deity in inscriptions from Asia Minor, L. Robert, *Opera minora* I 412ff, and on the occasional occurrence of the divine pair Ὅσιον καὶ Δίκαιον, J. Zingerle, *Österr. Jahreshefte* 23 (1926) supp., cols. 50f ("Der sonst persönlich gedachte θεὸς Ὅσιος καὶ δίκαιος hier offenbar aus pantheistischen Glaubensformen zum allgemeinen numen generalisiert"). Some relevant Epicurean examples: Epic. *Rat. Sent.* I (Diog. L. 10,139): τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλω παρέχει; *POxy.* 215 col. i 19ff: τὸ [πα]ρίστανον (as interpreted by W. Schmid, *RhMus* 94 [1951] 137f) and τὸ θεῖον (additional examples listed by H. Diels, *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.* [1916] 906 = *Kl. Schr.* [1969] 308 s.v. θεῖος); and col. ii 17f: τὸ δαιμόνιον (see Diels 905 = *Kl. Schr.* 307 s.v.); *PHerc* 1428 col. x 10f: τὸ δαιμόνιον; xii 11f: τὸ θεῖον; xii 26: τὰ θεῖα = τοὺς θεούς (*De Piet.* pp. 84, 86 Gomperz).

⁴³ Cf. *VS* 68 B 130ff.

Critias and Prodicus simultaneously with him, he was primarily interested in the origin of man's belief in the existence of gods, of which he gave two different but by no means mutually exclusive explanations. Of the two, one is based on his own atomistic theory, according to which exceptionally large and awe-inspiring images, endowed with speech and, perhaps, able to transmit the thoughts and feelings of the anthropomorphic material sources that emitted them, generated in man the very notion of the gods.⁴⁴ Some of these images are carriers of good and others of evil.⁴⁵ For Democritus, these "gods" die hard, but perish they must,⁴⁶ presumably because the endless flow of images eventually depletes their atomic substance. The perishability of the divine and its dealings with man were the principal theological issues in which Democritus was not followed by Epicurus, who considered the gods unconditionally immortal and aloof. Obviously it is neither this explanation nor Epicurus' critical modification of it that is described in fr. 16, although some mention of it must have been made in an earlier, lost part of the section on Democritus.⁴⁷ On the contrary, fr. 16 as well as Sextus Empiricus *Math.* 9,24 must represent another, less sophisticated theory of Democritus in which he explained the concept of the gods and their worship as man's response to physical phenomena in the sky and as his misinterpretation of their natural causes. E. Norden has pointed out how the two texts are complementary in that Sextus emphasizes the destructive and our fr. 16 apparently the charitable influence of such divine meteorology on the agricultural or still completely uncivilized living conditions of early man.⁴⁸ According to

⁴⁴ VS 68 A 74, 77-79; B 142, 166. On Democritus' ambiguous use of the term εἰδῶλα see D. McGibbon, *Hermes* 93 (1965) 390ff, as modified by H. Eisenberger, *RhMus* 113 (1970) 143ff.

⁴⁵ Sext. Emp. *Math.* 9,19 (VS 68 B 166): τὰ μὲν [sc. τῶν εἰδῶλων] εἶναι ἀγαθοποιὰ τὰ δὲ κακοποιά; Cic. *N.D.* 1,43,120 (VS 68 A 74): *animantes imagines quae vel prodesse nobis solent vel nocere* (cf. below, n. 49). There is no agreement on how to reconcile the preceding texts with B 175, where Democritus states that the gods are givers of good only (see McGibbon [above, n. 44] 395f versus Eisenberger [above, n. 44] 150f).

⁴⁶ VS 68 B 166: δύσφθαρτα μὲν οὐκ ἄφθαρτα δέ.

⁴⁷ Cic. *N.D.* 1,12,29 (VS 68 A 74) provides implicit proof; but Cicero omits the argument summarized in *PHerc* 1428 fr. 16.

⁴⁸ Norden (above, n. 22) 397-400. Cf. VS 68 B 30, where Democritus' λόγιοι ἄνθρωποι raise their hands to Zeus as the one who "gives and takes away all things and is the king of all." Jaeger (above, n. 23) 208 defined the psychological motivation in Democritus' theory in too narrow terms as a feeling which "auf der Linie zwischen Furcht und Ehrfurcht liegt" (cf. Diod. 1,11,1: καταπλεγέντας καὶ θαυμάσαντας, of the Egyptians worshipping the οὐράνιοι θεοί).

Democritus, therefore, fear and gratitude were the emotional basis for the origin of religion, in reaction to the gods' *Poena et Beneficium*, to use the words of Pliny the Elder.⁴⁹ Since this second theory was clearly meant by Democritus to explain the earliest stage of human affairs historically from the prescientific point of view of early man rather than in terms of later atomistic science, the Epicureans, including perhaps the master himself, did not hesitate to adopt that explanation, as Lucretius 5,1183ff shows.⁵⁰

The real importance of fr. 16, however, lies perhaps elsewhere, in the area of religious thought and language in general. If the substance of this text goes back to Democritus, as it undoubtedly does, it is,

and thought that the argument from gratitude originated with Prodicus. (A. Kleingünther, *ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΕΥΡΕΤΗΣ: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung*, Philologus supp. XXVI 1, Leipzig 1933, 111f, ventured well into the unknown when he suggested that Democritus derived the positive side of his theory from Prodicus, on whom see below. All we know is that Democritus, Socrates' junior by some ten years, presumably began to circulate some of his writings shortly before the end of the century [J. Ferguson, *SymbOsl* 40 (1965) 25f] and that Prodicus was a contemporary of both.) Therefore Jaeger, who did not take into account Pliny's *Poena et Beneficium* (see below, n. 49), sought to interpret Critias' approach to the origins of religion (above, n. 24; below, n. 68) as a combination of both Democritean and Prodician tenets (Jaeger [above, n. 23] 299 n. 35, 301 nn. 65–66), which is unnecessary. Contrary to usual Stoic practice (above, n. 24) and apparently in imitation of 5th-century speculation, Cleanthes (Cic. *N.D.* 2,5,13 = *SVF* I 528) listed both the *commoditates* of nature (including the seasons) and the terror caused by adverse meteorological phenomena among the factors that inspired man's conception of the gods (see Pease ad loc.).

⁴⁹ *Nat. hist.* 2,14 (*VS* 68 A 76): *aut, ut Democrito placuit, duo omnino* [sc. *deos*], *Poenam et Beneficium* (Pliny enumerates deified abstractions, much in the manner of Cic. *N.D.* 2,23,61). There is no way of deciding whether this personification originated with Democritus (Eisenberger [above, n. 44] 152 n. 28) or whether it is a fabrication of philosophical scholasticism reducing Democritus' theodicy to handbook terminology (cf. Aët. *Plac.* 1,6,12 [*Dox. Gr.* p. 296,13f]: τοὺς θεοὺς διείλον εἰς τε τὸ βλάπτον καὶ τὸ ὠφελοῦν).

⁵⁰ *Praeterea caeli rationes ordine certo / et varia annorum cernebant tempora verti / nec poterant quibus id fieret cognoscere causis. / ergo perfugium sibi habebant omnia divis / tradere . . .* Except, perhaps, for the emphasis on *ordine certo*, which goes back to Plato and Aristotle (cf. A. S. Pease, "Caeli enarrant," *HTHR* 34 [1941] 163ff esp. 168–175) and which in Lucretius is a clear indication of Epicurean reaction to either Academic (G. Vlastos, in Solmsen, see below) or Stoic (e.g., A. B. Krische and K. Reinhardt) theology, the three principal *causae* for popular belief in deity as listed in Lucretius derive from Democritus (see, e.g., Sext. *Emp. Math.* 9.42–43, for an explicit comparison of Democritus and Epicurus on dream images), as F. Solmsen has pointed out (*AJP* 72 [1951] 17 n. 60 = *Kl. Schr.* I [Hildesheim 1968] 477 n. 60).

together with a quotation from Diogenes of Apollonia, the earliest extant attempt to establish the fact of divine manifestation by adducing the seasons of the year as proof. Diogenes inferred from the cyclic annual change of the seasons the existence of an intelligent divine power or agent who brings about that alternation for the good of mankind.⁵¹ But it would seem unwarranted to assume a similar theistic interest on the part of Democritus, who in fr. 16 does not appear to be speaking *in propria persona* as an atomist and does not emphasize the orderliness of seasonal change.⁵² Hence it is in a very limited sense only that we may regard this Democritean text as a precursor of what became with Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics a standard category of teleological proof of the existence of deity, the proof ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων and more specifically ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων.⁵³ But whereas sun, moon,

⁵¹ Simpl. *Phys.* 152,13 (*VS* 64 B 3): οὐ γὰρ ἄν, φησὶν, οἷόν τε ἦν οὕτω δεδάσθαι ἄνεν νοήσιος, ὥστε πάντων μέτρα ἔχειν, χειμῶνός τε καὶ θέρος καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ εὐδιῶν. Heraclitean influence on language and thought is likely (cf. *VS* 22 B 67: ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρη εὐφρόνη, χειμῶν θέρος, πόλεμος εἰρήνη . . .; see *PHerc* 1428 fr. 17 as printed above, n. 10). But Diogenes, the first teleologist (cf. Theiler [above, n. 37] 13ff), draws a clearer dividing line between the intelligent force inherent in the material world and the material changes in nature which this intelligence initiates.

⁵² Fr. 16,1–6 must have formed part of a subordinate clause, with γε<ι>νεται as its finite verb, within the report, in indirect discourse, of Democritus' opinion (cf. *PHerc* 1428 col. ix 24ff: ὑπὸ δὲ Ἡφαίσ[του] [sc. λέγειν] δ[ι]ότι τ[έ]χνη γίγν' ἢ φρόνησις). Presumably, then, Democritus said that primitive man became aware of some divine power located in the sky *because* the seasons, etc., "come from on high, heaven-sent." Democritus qua prehistorian assumes the role of early man and poses as a naive observer of nature; qua atomist, he will analyze the celestial mechanism rather than submit to it in fear or admiration.

⁵³ Plato: *Leg.* 10,886a (earth, sun, stars, καὶ τὰ τῶν ὥρων διακεκοσμημένα καλῶς οὕτως, are mentioned), 899b, and *Symp.* 188ab (the seasons only); cf. Xen. *Mem.* 4,3,13 (ἀλλ' ἐξαρκῇ σοι τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὁρῶντι σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς θεούς, followed by an enumeration which includes sun, lightning [see above, n. 40], and winds), and the paraphrase of this passage in *PHerc* 1428 frs. 20–21 (*De Piet.* pp. 71f Gomperz). Aristotle: fr. 12 Rose (= fr. 13 Ross [*Fragm. Sel.*, Oxford 1955]), from Cic. *N.D.* 2,36,95f [earth, sea, sky, clouds, winds, sun, stars, moon]; fr. 10 Rose (= fr. 12a Ross), from Sext. *Emp. Math.* 9,20ff (ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων); fr. 12 Rose (= fr. 13 Ross), from Philo *Leg. Alleg.* 99f (διὰ τῶν ἔργων), *De praemiis et poenis* 41ff (ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων: earth, waters, winds; καὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ὥρων τὰς ἐναρμονίους μεταβολάς; sun, moon, stars). Stoics: e.g., Cic. *N.D.* 1,14,36 (Zeno: divinity of the seasons); 1,36,100 (Poseidonios [?]: *ex operibus magnificis atque praeclaris*, which include *temporum maturitates, mutationes vicissitudinesque*); *Tusc.* 1,28,68: *commutationesque temporum quadrupertitas* (on which see Norden [above, n. 22] 25ff); cf. G. M. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951) I 107ff, 117, 122. Both the concept and the wording of *PHerc* 1428 fr. 16,7–9, τὸ ἐξεργαζόμενον

and the orderly motion of the stars are regularly mentioned in almost all of the many variations of that argument, the proof from the sequence of the seasons happens to be only sporadically attested after Plato.⁵⁴ A remarkable stylistic feature of fr. 16 is the enumeration of all four seasons, which can be paralleled from religious texts of much later date.⁵⁵

γνόντας σέβεσθαι, are echoed in later theological literature and were believed by Norden (above, n. 22) 87ff esp. 96f to be Posidonian (esp. *Corp. Herm.* 4,2: θεατῆς γὰρ ἐγένετο τῶν ἔργων τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ θαύμασε [above, n. 48] καὶ ἐγνώρισε τὸν ποιήσαντα; Cic. *Tusc.* 1,70: *deum agnoscis ex operibus eius*; *N.D.* 2,140: *ut deorum cognitionem caelum intuentes capere possent*; Sen. *Ep.* 95,47: *deum colit qui novit*). But the evidence of the papyrus, if substantially Democritean, would suggest an earlier origin, at least for the terminology (cf. Epic. *Ep. Menoec.* [Diog. L. 10,123]: ἐναργῆς γὰρ αὐτῶν [sc. τῶν θεῶν] ἐστιν ἡ γνῶσις, highlighted by Norden for its theological use of γνῶσις).

⁵⁴ From Alcman (*PMG* fr. 20 Page) down to the oracles of the empire (see below, n. 55), the four seasons are not listed in any fixed order (Arist. *Gen. anim.* 784^a 17ff, τοῖς δ' ἀνθρώποις κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν γίνεται χειμὼν καὶ θέρος καὶ ἔαρ καὶ μετόπωρον, provides one of the closest parallels for the sequence adopted in our fragment); see Hanfmann (above, n. 53) I 91–93 (where *PHerc* 1428 fr. 16 should be added) and 150–156 for a collection of relevant passages. The ultimate roots of this theological speculation lie in the Indo-European concept of the sky god, who was considered physically present in, and identical with, his various celestial manifestations.

⁵⁵ With the notable exception of 1 *Clem.* 20,9 (καιροὶ ἔαρινοὶ καὶ θερινοὶ καὶ μετοπωρινοὶ καὶ χειμερινοὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μεταπαριδιδάσιν ἀλλήλοις, in a Stoicizing teleological context) and Dio Chrys. *Or.* 3,80 (συνεθίζων μὲν ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ ἡλιος ὑπενεγκεῖν τὸ θέρος, προγυμνάζων δὲ διὰ τοῦ μετοπώρου χειμῶνα ἀνέχεσθαι . . . , of the sun god), the principal parallels belong to the second half of the 2d or to the 3d century A.D.: (1) Oracle of the Clarian Apollo, in Macrobi. *Sat.* 1,18,19ff (ultimately derived from Cornelius Labeo's collection *De oraculo Apollinis Clarii*), lines 3ff: φράξεο τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν' Ἰαῶ, / χεῖματι μέντ' Ἀἰδὴν, Δία δ' εἵαρος ἀρχομένοιο, / Ἡέλιον δὲ θέρεως, μετόπωρον δ' ἄβρον' Ἰαῶ (on its authenticity, see A. D. Nock, *REA* 30 [1928] 280ff esp. 282 = Zeph Stewart, ed., *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford 1972, I 160ff esp. 162; on its religious substance, R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*³, Leipzig 1927, 148ff, and Nock, *HTHR* 29 [1936] 67 n. 75 = *Essays* I 426 n. 75). (2) Oracle of the Didymean Apollo (see L. Robert, *CRAI* 1971 [1972] 597ff esp. 610 n. 6; *CRAI* 1968 [1969] 568–599 esp. 592ff, and 598 n. 2), in *Theosophia Tubingensis* §42 p. 177,5ff, ed. H. Erbse (*Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, Hamburg 1941), lines 5–6: χεῖμα, θέρος, φθινόπωρον, ἔαρ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀμείβων / εἰς φάος ἤγεν ἅπαντα καὶ ἀρμονίους πόρε μέτροις. (3) Cf. *I. Pergamon* 324, 21–25, an elaborate description of all four seasons in a hymn to Zeus, who is praised as their cause. Occasionally one finds only three seasons listed (Aesch. *Prom.* 454ff: ἦν δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὔτε χεῖματος τέκμαρ / οὔτ' ἀνθεμώδους ἡρος οὔτε καρπίμου / θέρους βέβαιον; *Hymn. Orph.* 34,21–23 [from Asia Minor]: μίξας χειμῶνος θέρεός τ' ἴσον ἀμφοτέροισιν, / ταῖς ὑπάταις χειμῶνα, θέρος νεάταις διακρίνας, / Δώριον εἰς ἔαρος πολυηράτου ὥριον ἄνθος).

Prodicus

PHerc 1428 fr. 19 (N 1428 fr. 19 = HV² II 6^c; O 1224)

ἀγ[αθ]οὺς {νε}[
 2 να[. . .] {υρο} [
 vv. 3-9 desunt
 10]ω[
 [. . .] .οσ[
 12 . . . [{σιτογ} ὕ]πὸ [τ]ῶν
 ἀνθρώπων νομιζο-
 14 μένους θεοὺς οὐτ' εἰ-
 ναί φησιν οὐτ' εἰδέ-
 16 ναι, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς
 καὶ πάνθ' ὅλως τὰ χρή-
 18 σιμα πρ[ὸς τ]ὸν βίον
 τοὺς ἀρ[χαί]οις ἀγα-

MARGO

1-2 om. N | {souvap.} 1 Schober 10]ω[N O, def. pap. 12
 {souvap.} | το[ὺς ὑπ]ὸ [τῶν] Schober-Gomperz 13 notam stichometr.
 habet pap., legit O, male interpretatus est N 18 Sauppe⁵⁶ 19 Gomperz
 | ἀγα[σθέντας ἐκθειάσαι], e.g., Gomperz-Schober

[Prodicus] maintains that the gods of popular belief⁵⁷ do not exist and

⁵⁶ Cf. Xen. *Mem.* 4,3,7: οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον ἄνευ πυρὸς ἄνθρωποι τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον
 χρησίμων κατασκευάζονται. Diod. 1,8,5: μηδενὸς τῶν πρὸς βίον χρησίμων εὐρημένον;
 2,38,2: τὰς εὐρέσεις τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς βίον χρησίμων; 2,38,5 (of Dionysos): τὴν
 εὔρεσιν τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον χρησίμων; 4,1,5: τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τι
 χρήσιμον πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν βίον εὐρόντων; Isoc. *Paneg.* 40: τῶν τεχνῶν τὰς τε πρὸς
 τὰν ἀγκυαῖα τοῦ βίου χρησίμας. Euhemerus *FGrHist* 63 F 20 (Lact. *Div. Inst.*
 1,11,35): *si quis quid novi invenerat quod ad vitam humanam utile esset*. The
 phrase is obviously technical in this context and likely to have been used by
 Prodicus. The theory of religious origins advocated by Prodicus has much in
 common with the anthropological and ethnological approach to religion as
 practised in the 19th century. W. F. Otto (*Dionysus: Myth and Cult*, English
 trans., Bloomington and London 1965, 7) criticized this method in terms that
 would equally apply to Prodicus: "Thus, what is 'useful' — and 'useful' in its
 simplest state of being — becomes the area of investigation into which a search
 is made for the original meaning of each form in which deity appears, and
 complete satisfaction is reached if one of these deities can be characterized as a
 'vegetation deity.'" One feels instantly reminded of Prodicus' special interest in
 Demeter and Dionysos, and, for a criticism somewhat similar to Otto's, of Plut.
De Is. 377 DE (who must have had Prodicus in mind, *inter alios*). E. Rohde
 treated "unsere Naturmythologien" and Prodicus with equal scorn, and in the
 same footnote (*Psyche*² I [Leipzig and Tübingen 1898] 291 n. 1).

⁵⁷ The phrase νομίζειν θεοὺς (on which see J. Tate, *CR* 50 [1936] 3-5; 51
 [1937] 3-6; W. Fahr, *ΘΕΟΥΣ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΙΝ: Zum Problem der Anfänge des
 Atheismus bei den Griechen*, Spudasmata 26, Hildesheim 1969, 41 n. 16,

that he does not recognize⁵⁸ them, but that primitive man, [out of admiration, deified] the fruits of the earth and virtually everything that contributed to his subsistence . . .

Less than a year after its reproduction in the second volume of the *Collectio altera* of the Herculaneum papyri, this fragment was correctly assigned to Prodicus by H. Sauppe, who referred to two parallel passages, both under the name of Prodicus, in Sextus Empiricus, and to a third one in Cicero.⁵⁹ H. Diels omitted the text in his *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*,⁶⁰ and thus it went unnoticed.⁶¹ This omission, and

96f, 167) is standard in the parlance of the later 5th century and carries the twofold notion of conventional *belief* (demonstrated in acts of worship) in the *existence* of certain gods; both elements are expressly negated in lines 14-15.

⁵⁸ The language is highly stylized and therefore likely to reflect Prodicus' original wording rather closely. (Note the effective change of grammatical subject in the transition from οὗτ' εἶναι to οὗτ' εἰδέναι.) For the contemporary use of εἰδέναι in theological speculation, cf. Protagoras *VS* 80 B 4 (below, n. 63), and Plat. *Crat.* 400d: περὶ θεῶν οὐδὲν ἴσμεν, οὔτε περὶ αὐτῶν οὔτε περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἅττα ποτὲ ἑαυτοὺς καλοῦσιν. If the transitive (or, less likely, absolute) use of εἰδέναι (θεοῦς) as attested in the papyrus is authentic, Prodicus seems to have anticipated later usage. For in the Septuagint, the New Testament, and one tractate of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (14,8), (μὴ) εἰδέναι θεόν is used in a monotheistic sense of right belief in the one God (see Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich [above, n. 35], s.v. οἶδα 1a, 2); cf. οἶδαμεν ἓνα θεόν in Arian creed (G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. οἶδα B), in contrast to catholic formulae which begin with πιστεύομεν εἰς (ἓνα) θεόν. . . (H. Lietzmann, *Symbole der Alten Kirche*², *Kleine Texte* 17-18, Bonn 1914; Denzinger-Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*³³, Barcelona 1965, 18, 21, 30ff).

⁵⁹ H. Sauppe in *Index Schol. Aestiv. Gotting.* 1864, 6f = *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Berlin 1896) 391. The three passages, to which I shall return later, are here given for convenience of reference — Sext. Emp. *Math.* 9,18 (*VS* 84 B 5): Πρόδικος δὲ ὁ Κεῖος ἥλιον, φησί, καὶ σελήνην καὶ ποταμούς καὶ κρήνας καὶ καθόλου πάντα τὰ ὠφελοῦντα τὸν βίον ἡμῶν [cf. *PHerc* 1428 fr. 19,17f] οἱ παλαιοὶ [fr. 19,19] θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν [fr. 19,13-14, and above, n. 57] διὰ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν, καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν Νεῖλον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν ἄρτον Δήμητραν νομισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ οἶνον Διόνυσον, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα, τὸ δὲ πῦρ Ἥφαιστον καὶ ἦδη τῶν εὐχρηστούντων ἕκαστον; 9,52: Πρόδικος δὲ τὸ ὠφελοῦν τὸν βίον ὑπειληφθαι θεόν, ὥς ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ποταμούς καὶ λίμνας καὶ λειμῶνας καὶ καρποὺς [fr. 19,16] καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτῶδες; Cic. *N.D.* 1,42,118 (ibid.): Prodicus Ceus, qui ea, quae prodesse hominum vitae [fr. 19,17-18], deorum in numero habita esse dixit, quam tandem religionem reliquit?

⁶⁰ This in spite of the fact that Diels had accepted Sauppe's attribution of the fragment to Prodicus (*Dox. Gr.* 126), as had Gomperz before him (in his edition of *De Piet.*, index p. 157; *Griechische Denker*⁴ I, Berlin-Leipzig 1922, 357 and 489). Since Diels did not intend his collection to be complete for the secondary material, the omission could well be intentional; but, with all due deference to that great scholar, I doubt it, because in all other instances he made full use of *PHerc* 1428.

⁶¹ The only exceptions I noticed are K. Praechter, *Die Philosophie des Alter-*

the apparent failure of scholars to spot it, are regrettable, because the new text provides clear proof of Prodicus' own confession of radical atheism, which used to be a matter of some controversy,⁶² and of his dependence on, and characteristic modification of, Protagoras' notorious statement of religious agnosticism.⁶³

Prodicus is perhaps best remembered for his interest in semantic differentiation, moral typology and the evolution of culture. Within

tums¹² (1926) 124; J. Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten* (Leipzig-Berlin 1907) x n. 7; and Pease on Cic. *N.D.* 1,15,38, *ipsasque res utiles* — who refer to *PHerc* 1428 fr. 19 in passing and without discussion. The most recent instance of omission is Fahr (above, n. 57) 98, 184.

⁶² An explicit denial of the existence of the traditional gods or, in the case of Epicurus, an intermediate attitude of repudiation of popular conceptions about the gods on the one hand (*Epic. Ep.* 3,123f; W. Schmid, *RhMus* 94 [1951] 97ff) and of observance of public worship on the other hand (*De Piet.* p. 104 Gomperz as restored by H. Diels, *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.* [1916] 894 = *Kl. Schr.* [1969] 296; *POxy.* 215 = Pack² 2576, on which see Diels 886ff = *Kl. Schr.* 288ff; Schmid 133ff; *RhMus* 105 [1962] 368ff; *Miscellanea di studi Alessandrini in memoria di A. Rostagni*, Torino 1963, 40ff), was all that was necessary in antiquity for somebody to be labeled *ἄθεος*. In addition to *PHerc* 1428 fr. 19 there are three pieces of less solid evidence for Prodicus' unconditional denial of the gods: (1) *Sext. Emp Math.* 9,51 (*VS* 84 B 5), where Prodicus is credited with arguing *μὴ εἶναι θεόν*; (2) the Hellenistic rosters of atheists which rarely fail to include Prodicus (*Dox. Gr.* p. 58; C. W. Müller, *Hermes* 95 [1967] 151f; and (3) *PHerc* 1428 col. xv 4–6 (*De Piet.* p. 86 Gomperz), *ἢ τοὺς διαρρήδην ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀποφαινόμενους*, which is an implicit reference to Prodicus (to be added to *Dox. Gr.* 123), as *De Piet.* p. 112,5ff Gomperz = *Epic. fr.* 87 Us. shows. W. Nestle (*Hermes* 71 [1936] 163), W. K. C. Guthrie (*A History of Greek Philosophy* III, Cambridge 1969, 241f), and Jaeger (above, n. 23) 215 accepted the fact of Prodicus' atheism, against several modern claims to the contrary. Presumably their arguments would have been more straightforward if they had known *PHerc* 1428 fr. 19.

⁶³ Prodicus clearly radicalized the epistemologically explicit but otherwise neutral position of Protagoras, which has come down to us in a single sentence (*VS* 80 B 4): *περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι, οὐθ' ὡς εἰσὶν οὐθ' ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐθ' ὅποιοί τινες ἰδέαν* (paraphrased in *PHerc* 1428 col. xv 1–4 [*De Piet.* p. 89 Gomperz] = *VS* 80 A 23, and by Diogenes of Oenoanda fr. 11 ii iff Chilton). Prodicus frequented the circle around Protagoras (*Plat. Prot.* 317c; for a new example of Protagorean thought adopted by Prodicus, see G. Binder and L. Liesenborghs, *MusHelv* 23 [1966] 37ff esp. 39f). The style of Prodicus' theological doctrine was apparently imitated by the author of the Hippocratic treatise *De Morb. Sacr.* 1,30 (ed. H. Grensemann, Berlin 1968 [*Ars medica* 2,1]): *δυσεσβεῖν ἔμοιγε δοκέουσι καὶ θεοὺς οὐτε εἶναι νομίζειν οὐτε ἰσχυεῖν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ εἰργεσθαι ἂν οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐσχάτων ποιέοντες ἐνεκά γε θεῶν, ὡς οὐ δεινοὶ ἄρα αὐτοῖς εἰσιν*. (The text after *οὐδέν* is controversial; see H.-W. Nörenberg, *Gnomon* 42 [1970] 242f. *PHerc* 1428 col. xiv 28ff provides a close thematic parallel which would support the longer version.)

that latter context, it is undoubtedly his rationalistic explanation of the origin of polytheism which, once properly interpreted, must rank as his most sophisticated and, in its impact on contemporary intellectuals like Euripides⁶⁴ and subsequent rationalists like Euhemerus⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Eur. *Bacch.* 274–285, with E. R. Dodds's commentary ad loc.; *ZPE* 3 (1968) 111f on the remarkable similarity between *Bacch.* 276f and *PDerveni* (Pack² 2465a) col. xviii as new evidence of pre-Stoic allegorization. It must be emphasized, against Dodds, (1) that Prodicus vented his atheism unequivocally (above, n. 62); (2) that far from offering a consistently authentic account of Prodicus' doctrine, Sext. *Emp. Math.* 9,18 (above, n. 59) in the end grossly distorts it by his metonymical identification of the deified benefactors with the *res utiles* with which they became associated, thereby as much obscuring the very distinction which Prodicus himself was careful to make as did the Teiresias of the *Bacchae* (the strongest argument for Prodicus' influence on the Teiresias speech is not the use of metonymy but *Bacch.* 277 and 279, with their emphasis on Demeter as benefactress and Dionysus as inventor [see below, n. 65]. Prodicus must have been familiar with metonymy as used of gods other than Hephaistos, especially if Theagenes *VS* 8 A 2 is substantially authentic [see R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* I 10]. But Prodicus could not accept such identifications without contradicting his own religious theory. Therefore his reference to them must have been critical, i.e., he will have rejected them as another example of undifferentiated and mistaken use of words by the uneducated); (3) that the corrupt text of Themist. *Or.* 30 (*VS* 84 B 5) cannot have been intended to mean that Prodicus had "put piety on a sound foundation" (cf. Guthrie [above, n. 62] III 242).

⁶⁵ Cf. the juxtaposition of Prodicus and Euhemerus in Cic. *N.D.* 1,42,118f, where Euhemerus has been substituted for the second phase in Prodicus' theory which is otherwise suppressed in Cicero (see below, under (b), on the identical procedure adopted by Sext. *Emp.*). The fact that deified human benefactors, qua *εὐεργέται* and *εὐεργαί*, became a regular category in Hellenistic theological speculation (and, for different reasons, in religious practice) is best explained as due to Prodicus' theory, except for one important modification: under the influence of Alexander's heroic deeds, which earned him comparison with Heracles, the Dioscuri and Dionysus (Lowell Edmunds, *GRBS* 12 [1971] 381ff, 388f, on Anaxarchus [cf. *VS* 72 A 6–8]), and of the Ptolemaic concept of divine kingship and the king as benefactor (e.g., E. Schwartz, *RhMus* 40 [1885] 254ff; A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 3 [1968] 72ff; C. Habicht, *Entr. Fond. Hardt* 19 [1973] 97), emphasis shifted from the divine *εὐεργής* to the royal *εὐεργέτης*. Those affected, one way or another, by Prodicus include Hecataeus (if Diod. 1,13,1 [*FGrHist* 264 F 25] and Diod. 6,1,2–3, in Euseb. *P.E.* 2,2,53 [*FGrHist* 63 F 2], on which see P. M. Fraser [*Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) II 45of] and F. Jacoby [*RE* 7,2 (1912) 2753], can convincingly be ascribed to Hecataeus; cf. Diod. 3,9,1; Euhemerus (e.g., Diod. 6,1,8, in Euseb. *P.E.* 2,2,58 [*FGrHist* 63 F 2]; cf. Dionysius Scytobrachion, in Diod. 3,56,3 [*FGrHist* 32 F 7]), possibly following Hecataeus (Fraser I 293, II 454 n. 828); Stoics after Persaeus (Cic. *N.D.* 2,24,62, with Pease's notes; *PHerc* 1428 col. vi 14–16 [*De Piet.* p. 80 Gomperz] = *SVF* II 1076, and the parallel passage Cic. *N.D.* 1,15,39 = *SVF* II 1037; Aët., in Ps.-Plut. *Epit.* 1,6 [*Dox. Gr.* 296] = *SVF* II 1009); Philo of Byblos (Euseb. *P.E.* 1,9,29 [*FGrHist* 790 F 1]. The passage is

and Persaeus,⁶⁶ his most influential contribution to ancient intellectual history.

In the beginning, there was nature and there was man. Soon primitive man came to realize that in order for him to survive he had to depend on nature. Therefore he stood in awe of those things on which he was most dependent, such as sun and moon, rivers and fruits of the earth, and what else he deemed vital for his continued existence. When the time had come for mankind to give everything its proper name, they agreed to refer to the various benefactions of nature which they admired as "gods," and began to worship them. Gradually, as human wit entered into competition with nature and human individuals distinguished themselves as inventors of new means of survival and as benefactors of mankind, this nomenclature was extended to include them too, so that they were likewise called "gods," with their personal names like Demeter and Dionysos retained for individual identification, and they were worshipped as such.

The preceding summary is my reconstruction of Prodicus' theory about the origin of institutionalized religion.⁶⁷ For him, just as for his

worth quoting: θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον μεγίστους τοὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιωτικὴν χρείαν [cf. above, n. 56] εὐρόντας ἢ κατὰ τι εὖ ποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη; Athenagoras *Leg.* 28 p. 147,26ff Geffcken (apparently through Apollodorus, *Περὶ θεῶν*, whom he quotes [*FGrHist* 244 F 104]); and the Corpus Hermeticum (*Ascl.* 37). F. Jacoby, who misinterpreted *PHerc* 1428 col. iii 6ff (below, n. 87), and more recently M. Untersteiner (*I Sofisti*², Milano 1967, II 16f; *Sofisti, Testimonianze e frammenti*², II, Firenze 1961, on Prodicus), who is simply blind to the obvious, have both denied any connection between Euhemerus and Prodicus, whereas B. Krische (*Die theologischen Lehren der griechischen Denker: Eine Prüfung der Darstellung Cicero's [Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der alten Philosophie I]*, Göttingen 1840, 440ff), A. Kleingünther (above, n. 48) 111, and G. Vallauri (*Origine e diffusione dell'euhemerismo nel pensiero classico*, Università di Torino, Pubbl. Fac. Lett. XII 5[1960] 15), without going into any detail, did see a clear line of descent. The most important debt owed to Prodicus by cultural analysts of the Hellenistic period is their distinction between celestial and terrestrial gods, i.e., divine forces of nature and deified men. This is clearly an adaptation of Prodicus' two-stage theory of religious origins (first suggested, if only hesitantly, by T. Cole [above, n. 37] 156), with the first stage reinterpreted deistically in the light of Platonic and Aristotelian astral theology (cf. M. P. Nilsson, *HThR* 33 [1940] 1ff = *Opuscula Selecta* III 31ff). The Ptolemaic theologians who composed the so-called Praises of Isis filled Prodicus' atheistic mold with new religious substance when they fashioned a fully historicized and Hellenized *dea inventrix*, to be worshipped in cult.

⁶⁶ Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1,15,38, and the Appendix, below.

⁶⁷ The proper understanding of Prodicus' theory has been repeatedly thwarted by (1) the failure to take into consideration *PHerc* 1428 fr. 19; (2) a misconstruction of the syntax in *PHerc* 1428 col. iii 6ff (see the Appendix, below); (3) the uncritical acceptance of Philodemus, Cicero, Minucius Felix, and Sextus Empiricus as equally reliable transmitters of Prodicus' position (see below); (4) the fallacy

close contemporary Critias, there had been a time when there was man but no gods yet.⁶⁸ In his view, the gods were not primal entities and self-engendered in multiple stages of theogony, but a casual by-product of human society. Religion thus conceived turned out to be but a convenient invention generated by the very orderliness of man who tried to come to terms, both emotionally and linguistically, with his original environment.⁶⁹ Typically for his time, Prodicus envisaged the making of the gods not as a single act of cultural revolution,⁷⁰ but as a progressive evolution of deification in which he recognized two successive phases: man's notion of the divine advanced from the impersonal to the personal, from nature to his own kin, from the beneficial object to the human benefactor. What has here been superimposed on the traditional Greek recognition of excellence in man as well as in nature is that pragmatic utilitarianism which is one of the hallmarks of the sophistic enlightenment. In his anthropocentric attitude, Prodicus was even less prepared to consider the sheer *tremendum* of the supernatural as one of the main driving forces behind the formation of religious

of regarding Prodicus as a theological mind who held positive opinions about the gods (most notably so F. Dümmler [*Akademika* (Giessen 1889) 162f], Gomperz, and M. Untersteiner); contra above, n. 62; and (5) the tendency to see Prodicus' theory in isolation from the general background of contemporary *Kulturentstehungslehren*, with their emphasis on language as a convention which enabled man to name and thus to create and to dictate new social values, including (for Protagoras) religion or even (for Critias and Prodicus) the very gods (F. Heinemann, *Nomos and Physis*, Basel 1945, 51ff, 73ff, 147ff, 156ff; Diels's comment on Parmenides' condemnation of conventional terminology [*Neue Jahrb.* 25 (1910) 8 = *Kl Schr.* 75]: "Der Sündenfall der Menschheit beginnt mit der Sprache").

⁶⁸ Critias, in Sext. Emp. *Math.* 9,54 (*VS* 88 B 25 = *TrGF* 43 F 19 Snell): ἦν χρόνος ὅτ' ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρώπων βίος . . . (cf. above, n. 24), the gods being some wisehead's later invention (vv. 12ff). Contrast Protagoras, in Plat. *Prot.* 320c: ἦν γάρ ποτε χρόνος ὅτε θεοὶ μὲν ἦσαν, θνητὰ δὲ γένη οὐκ ἦν; on which see Norden (above, n. 22) 370ff.

⁶⁹ W. Jaeger and W. K. C. Guthrie, as others before them, have stressed that the gratitude of man (versus fear in Democritus; but see above, n. 48) must have been an important element in Prodicus' theory. As far as Prodicus is concerned, this assumption is fair enough. *PHerc* 1428 fr. 19,19 can now be adduced as provisional evidence for this view, if Gomperz's ἀγα[σθέντας] is an acceptable supplement. Admiration and awe would most naturally lead to gratitude.

⁷⁰ Critias (above, n. 68) limited his speculation to the moment in time when the notion of the divine was arbitrarily implanted in the rest of mankind by the πυκνός τις καὶ σοφὸς γνώμην ἀνὴρ (cf. v. 16: ἐντεῦθεν οὖν τὸ θεῖον εἰσηγήσατο). Prodicus' own emphasis on progress in the formation of religious customs was missed by L. Edelstein, *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity* (Baltimore 1967) 25 n. 10.

beliefs than physicists like Democritus and Epicurus, who, as will be recalled, looked up to the sky and its meteorological phenomena in their attempt to explain the existence of the gods of popular belief.

Although *PHerc* 1428 fr. 19 does not add substantially to our knowledge of Prodicus' theory of religious origins, it does help to confirm the first part of a more detailed and much more important reference to that theory in a subsequent section of *PHerc* 1428.⁷¹ In order to assess the respective value of each of the two attestations, it will be necessary to review the scanty evidence concerning Prodicus' religious theory.

a. *PHerc* 1428 fr. 19, Persaeus in *PHerc* 1428 cols. ii–iii (see the Appendix, below), Cicero *N.D.* 1,42,118,⁷² and finally Sextus Empiricus (above, n. 59) concur in the explicit statement that according to Prodicus "the things that nourish and benefit us" (*PHerc* 1428 col. iii 3f) were deified by primitive man.

b. The deification of human benefactors as a sequel to (a), and thus the full two-phase theory, is ascribed to Prodicus in *PHerc* 1428 cols. ii–iii only, on the authority of Persaeus (see the Appendix, below).

c. Sextus Empiricus twice fails to mention that second phase in connection with Prodicus (above n. 64). However, this failure must not be construed as evidence against the authenticity of (b). Sextus, or rather the Academic summary of opinions of ἄθεοι which he used as a source, omitted (b) because it was too similar to the theory of Euhemerus (above, n. 65), who twice heads the roster of atheists in Sextus and is twice immediately followed by Prodicus.⁷³

d. Cicero, in his version of the Epicurean doxography which was also copied by the author of *PHerc* 1428, ascribes both (a) and (b) to Persaeus, but in reverse order and without mentioning Prodicus (*N.D.* 1,15,38).⁷⁴ Thus he testifies to a single and coherent theory that

⁷¹ Cols. ii 28–iii 13 (*De Piet.* pp. 75f Gomperz) = *Dox. Gr.* p. 544 = *VS* 84 B 5 = *SVF* I 448. Owing to scholarly fancy and ignorance, there has been an unnecessary controversy over the interpretation of this passage, which I discuss in the Appendix, below.

⁷² Both Cicero (*N.D.* 1,42,117ff) and Sextus Empiricus (*Math.* 9,18, 9,52), in their respective accounts of atheistic beliefs, seem to have followed the same Academic source (R. Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zu den philosophischen Schriften Ciceros*, I, Leipzig 1877, 42 n. 2; R. Philippson, *SymbOsl* 20 [1940] 41f).

⁷³ This should answer the doubts expressed by Guthrie (above, n. 62) III 240, whereas Guthrie's discussion of Sext. Emp. *Math.* 9,41 sufficiently answers both H. Gomperz, *Sophistik und Rhetorik* (Leipzig–Berlin 1912) 113 n. 251, and B. Effe, *RhMus* 113 (1970) 178, who mistake the polemical bias of Sextus' argument for authentic doxographical information.

⁷⁴ Apparently for reasons of economy, Cicero excluded Prodicus also earlier,

comprised both (a) and (b).⁷⁵ That this theory goes back to Prodicus rather than Persaeus follows from the fuller version in *PHerc* 1428 cols. ii–iii.⁷⁶

e. Minucius Felix *Oct.* 21,2 ascribes only (b) to Prodicus and the combination of (a) and (b) to Persaeus.⁷⁷ It is surprising to find such a half-truth in a rather “late” and derivative source like Minucius. Most scholars have rejected his testimony out of hand and claimed that it is inconsistent with the other attestations. This claim is true only in so far as Minucius fails to ascribe (a) to Prodicus, too. But this failure does not absolve us from asking why Minucius is otherwise right. Where,

where he should have been mentioned after Diogenes of Apollonia and before Plato, as *PHerc* 1428 fr. 19 shows, which is thus without parallel in Cicero. The presence of both Heracitus and Prodicus in *PHerc* 1428 does indeed prove that their absence in Cicero’s doxography is an intentional omission on the part of Cicero (*pace* O. Gigon, *Gnomon* 34 [1962] 672); cf. Hirzel (above, n. 72) I 7f.

⁷⁵ This important point was made by Guthrie (above, n. 62) III 239.

⁷⁶ As a general rule, *PHerc* 1428 deserves higher credibility than Cicero whenever the two versions are at variance, especially when the disagreement is due to an omission by Cicero (above, n. 74).

⁷⁷ *Oct.* 21,2: *Prodicus adsumptos in deos loquitur qui errando inventis novis frugibus utilitati hominum profuerunt. In eandem sententiam et Persaeus philosophatur et adnectit inventas fruges et frugum ipsarum repertores isdem nominibus* (followed by a quotation of Ter. *Eun.* 732 = Cic. *N.D.* 2,23,60). The emphasis on metonymic equation of *inventae fruges* and *frugum repertores*, in connection with Persaeus (rather than Prodicus; above, n. 64), is much more explicit here than in Cic. *N.D.* 1,15,38. This could be another indication (below, n. 78) that Minucius had access to additional sources (Krische [above, n. 65] 439ff, who brilliantly divined the existence of *PHerc* 1428 cols. ii–iii [then still unpublished; cf. *CronErc* 4 (1974) 6] on the basis of *PHerc* 1428 col. iv 1–12 and Cic. *N.D.* 1,15,38, thought, perhaps correctly, that Minucius simply combined *N.D.* 1,15,38 and 2,23,60–63.). Whatever his sources, Minucius was incomparably more knowledgeable about Prodicus than modern commentators on the *Octavius*, who with rare accord blame Minucius for ascribing position (b) to Prodicus which they believe to have originated with Persaeus (R. Heinze, “Tertullians Apologeticum,” *Bericht über die Verhandlungen d. königl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Kl. LXII [1910] 342, who will have been influenced by the prevailing *communis opinio* about Prodicus, as inaugurated by F. G. Welcker, *RhMus* 1 [1833] 633 n. 310 = *Kl. Schr. z. griech. Litteraturgesch.* II, Bonn 1845, 520 n. 310; M. Pellegrino, *Octavius, con intruduzione e commento*, Torino 1947 [repr. 1955], 163 on *Oct.* 21,2; C. Becker, “Der ‘Octavius’ des Minucius Felix,” *Sitzb. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1967, no. 2, 65 n. 6; *Octavius*, ed. J. Beaujeu, Paris 1964, 116, who is the only commentator who made use of *De Piet.* in connection with *Oct.* 21,2 but adds to the confusion by referring for the juxtaposition of Prodicus and Persaeus to *PHerc* 1428 fr. 19 instead of *PHerc* 1428 cols. ii–iii).

then, did he get his surprisingly accurate information? Slightly earlier (*Oct.* 19,3–15), where Minucius is clearly following the catalogue of philosophers in Cicero's *De natura deorum*, he understandably does not mention Prodicus, whom Cicero omitted, but omits Persaeus, whom Cicero included. At *Oct.* 21,2 he combines them both. There is absolutely nothing in Cicero that could have suggested to Minucius to ascribe (b) to Prodicus or to juxtapose Prodicus and Persaeus. It would have required an unbelievable stroke of good luck if by mere guesswork or random combination Minucius had managed to manipulate the material he found in Cicero in such a way as virtually to reconstruct Cicero's Greek source as we see it reflected in *PHerc* 1428 cols. ii–iii. Therefore it seems more reasonable to conclude that Minucius had access to an additional source of information other than Cicero.⁷⁸ If so, Minucius confirms (b) in correcting both (c) and (d).

It should be evident by now that anyone who chooses to ignore or to underestimate the two references to Prodicus in *PHerc* 1428, the combined substance of which outweighs all the other attestations in date, reliability and completeness, does so at the risk of perpetuating the errors of inferior sources.⁷⁹

APPENDIX

The disputed passage under consideration is *PHerc* 1428 cols. ii 28–iii 13, which runs as follows:⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Guthrie (above, n. 62) III 240 implies that Minucius used Philodemus *De Piet.* The assumption of an additional Greek source for Minucius is perhaps less farfetched than one is at first inclined to think. Minucius connects Prodicus' theory with the invention of agricultural products by gods, presumably Demeter and Dionysus; we find the same connection in *PHerc* 1428 col. iii 8ff (see the Appendix, below) and, more pointedly, Themist. *Or.* 30 (*VS* 84 B 5) only; cf. C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* I (Königsberg 1829) 136f.

⁷⁹ In concluding this chapter on Prodicus, I quote from D. J. Stewart's comment on *PHerc* 1428 cols. ii–iii in R. K. Sprague, ed., *The Older Sophists* (Columbia, S.C., 1972) 83 n. 12: "Philodemus' work is known only from a papyrus found at Herculaneum in very tattered condition. It is largely reconstructed (including a misspelling in our passage) from reports to the same general effect by Cicero, Galen, and Themistius." Here ignorance has obscured the true relationship between the extant sources beyond recognition. (I cannot verify the alleged misspelling, nor the reference to Galen; Prodicus is not mentioned in Ps.-Galen's *Historia philosophica*, and whenever his name occurs in Galen's genuine works, it is not in connection with Prodicus' theory of religion.)

⁸⁰ For cross-references to standard collections of fragments which include this passage, see n. 71 above. My version of the text is based on the papyrus and on both the Oxford and Naples apographs. For a complete transcript of *PHerc* 1428 cols. i–xv in its present condition see *CronErc* 4 (1974) 12ff.

Περσα[ίος δὲ] δηλός ἐστιν [ἀναρωῶν] ὄντω[ς κ]α[ὶ] ἀφαν[ί]ζων τὸ δαιμόνιον ἢ μὴτὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γινώσκων, ὅταν ἐν τῷ Περὶ θεῶν μὴ [ἀπ]ίθανα λέγει φάινεσθαι τὰ περὶ <τοῦ>⁸¹ τὰ τρέφοντα καὶ ὠφελοῦντα θεοὺς νενομίσθαι καὶ τετειμῆσθ[αι] πρῶτον ὑπὸ [Προ]δίκου γεγραμμένα, μ[ε]τὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ[ς εὐρ]όντας ἢ τροφὰς ἢ [σ]κέπας ἢ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας ὡς Δῆμητρα καὶ Δι[όνυσον] καὶ τοῦ[ς Διοσκούρ]ου[ς] . . .

We owe the correct interpretation of this text to W. Nestle, who took both the *πρῶτον* and the *μετὰ ταῦτα* with the subject-accusatives of the articular infinitives.⁸² Nestle argued convincingly that taking *πρῶτον* with *γεγραμμένα* would require quite a different syntactical structure for the rest of the sentence,⁸³ unless, I may add, one were prepared to attribute an utterly nonsensical statement to Philodemus.⁸⁴ Despite its unobjectionable conclusion, Nestle's argument is perhaps less cogent than one might wish, because it suffers from a weakness which would hardly have disturbed Nestle or his contemporaries: it is too narrow and formalistic in that it emphasizes and thereby isolates the syntactical framework of the sentence, as if syntax were the only vehicle for thought. We have since learned to appreciate the deeper complexities of language as a multiple means of communication in which the syntactical system of reference is but one of many linguistic codes, all employed simultaneously, for the message that one wants to get across.⁸⁵ Another and sometimes equally important code is the associa-

⁸¹ Added by H. Diels, *Hermes* 13 (1878) 1. There may be traces of τοῦ on the papyrus; see *CronErc* 4 (1974) 14 with the critical apparatus ad loc.

⁸² *Philologus* 67 (1908) 556ff; *Hermes* 71 (1936) 160ff = *Griechische Studien* (Stuttgart 1948) 415ff; *Vom Mythos zum Logos*² (Stuttgart 1942) 353ff. It is not even necessary to assume that one or more additional infinitives followed in the lacuna, because the two extant infinitives could easily be carried over into the second half of the statement attributed to Prodicus.

⁸³ Namely, "καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα (oder vielmehr τοῦτον) περὶ τοῦ τοὺς εὐρόντας . . . νενομίσθαι . . . εἰρημένα" (*Philologus* 67 [1908] 557).

⁸⁴ Any interpretation which fails to correlate *πρῶτον* with *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* as references to one and the same sequence of time or order must be ruled out because it would entail a gross violation of Greek idiom. It would be impossible, therefore, to take the sentence to mean: Persaeus says that Prodicus *was the first* to write about the deification of beneficial objects, and *then* (Persaeus continues to say) *that* . . . (B. Effe, who sees in *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* a reference to a succession of statements in *Persaeus*, assumes an impossible displacement of *πρῶτον*, which he wants to connect with *λέγει*, in order to achieve the necessary correlation; see n. 89 below). By the same token, it would be equally impossible to assume a full stop after *γεγραμμένα* and to regard *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* . . . as the beginning of Philodemus' summary, in reported speech, of Persaeus' own doctrine.

⁸⁵ Attention may be drawn to two recent examples of a more comprehensive approach to the language of classical authors. That incongruities of thought can

tive correlation of diction and meaning which occurs whenever a conventional pattern of thought is cast in an equally conventional pattern of language. In such a case the thematic association triggered by the formulaic expression is so unmistakable that any semantic ambiguity which the sentence might otherwise contain on the merely syntactical level is automatically resolved. Our passage from Philodemus offers a good illustration of such a close correlation between traditional patterns of thought and patterns of language once it is realized that the combination of *πρῶτον* with *μετὰ ταῦτα* and similar series of words which express progression in time are a conventional stylistic device in ancient accounts of the origins of culture.⁸⁶ The moment a contemporary reader of Prodicus, Persaeus, or, for that matter, Philodemus was tuned in to the particular topic of *Kulturentstehungslehre*, he could hardly have failed to recognize the thematic associations inherent in the combination of *πρῶτον* and *μετὰ ταῦτα* even if the syntactical framework of a given passage should have

take precedence over logical and syntactical coherence has been shown by W. Bühler in a paper entitled "Unlogische Aussagen bei Aischylos und Thukydides" (see the summary in *Die Interpretation in der Altertumswissenschaft: Ansprachen zum 5. FIEC-Kongress, herausgegeben von W. Schmid*, Bonn 1971, 113f). Some important features of Menander's Greek which transcend vocabulary and sentence structure have been studied by F. H. Sandbach, in E. G. Turner, ed., *Ménandre: Entretiens Hardt XVI*, Vandoeuvres-Genève 1970, 113ff.

⁸⁶ Diod. 3,64,6: Διόνυσον... τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν χορείαις καὶ γυναικῶν θιάσοις καὶ παντοδαπῇ τρυφῇ καὶ παιδιᾷ διατελεῖν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν συναγαγόντα καὶ θύρσοις καθοπλίσαντα στρατεῖαν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ποιήσασθαι τὴν οἰκουμένην; 1,13,3: ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ἱερέων φασὶ πρῶτον Ἥφαιστον βασιλεῦσαι, πυρὸς εὐρετὴν γενόμενον καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ταύτην τυχόντα τῆς ἡγεμονίας... μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Κρόνον ἄρξει; 1,7,1: κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὄλων σύστασιν μίαν ἔχειν ἰδέαν οὐρανὸν τε καὶ γῆν, μεμυγμένης αὐτῶν τῆς φύσεως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαστάντων τῶν σωμάτων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων... Athenion (IV 557 M.; III 369 K.), in Athen. 14 p. 660e: (line 11) ἔθυσ' ἱερεῖον πρῶτον... (line 28) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (in a comic account of the origins of cookery which imitates Critias *TrGF* 43 F 19 [above, nn. 24, 68]). Plat. *Prot.* 322a: πρῶτον μὲν... ζῶων μόνον θεοὺς ἐνόμισε... ἔπειτα φωνὴν καὶ ὀνόματα ταχὺ διηρθρώσατο τῇ τέχνῃ (cf. *Menex.* 238a [v. 1: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο] and *Leges* III 680e, 681c for μετὰ (δὲ) ταῦτα in the same context). Isoc. 10,35: πρῶτον μὲν... μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (in a catalogue of Theseus' accomplishments as cultural hero). Diod. 1,7,3f ταύτην [sc. τὴν γῆν] δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον πυρὸς καταλάμψαντος πῆξιν λαβεῖν, ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν θερμασίαν... τὸ δὲ ἔσχατον... Cf. Norden (above, n. 22) 370ff (esp. 376f on *initio primus*... *exim*... *deinde*...), in Ennius' *Euhemerus*). The preceding collection of passages does not support W. Nestle's suggestion (*Philologus* 67 [1908] 557) to regard τὰ τρέφοντα as the specific antecedent of μετὰ ταῦτα.

allowed more than one grammatical interpretation (which I think is *not* the case in the above passage).

Nestle's explanation of the text, which has won the approval of most scholars,⁸⁷ credits Prodicus with a two-stage theory of religious evolution. Recently an attempt has been made to abandon this traditional interpretation in favor of a new one which would ascribe only the deification of beneficial objects to Prodicus and would make Persaeus the first exponent of the belief in the divinization of human benefactors.⁸⁸ But the new argumentation, which is basically grammatical and therefore open to the same general objection as was Nestle's, does not at all hold up under philological scrutiny.⁸⁹ In addition, apart from

⁸⁷ E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, I 2 (1920) 1409 n. 1; K. Deichgräber, *RE* 19,1 (1937) 928 s.v. Persaios; M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*², I (1959) 96f; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte d. griech. Religion*², II (1961) 284; M. Untersteiner, *I Sofisti*², II (1967) 30 n. 9; Cole (above, n. 37) 156 n. 27; Guthrie (above, n. 62) III 239f. Those scholars who indicated their disagreement (F. Jacoby, *RE* 6,1 [1907] 970 s.v. Euemeros (3); H. Gomperz, *Sophistik und Rhetorik*, Leipzig 1912, 113ff; W. Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter*. Schweiz. Beitr. z. Altertumswiss., no. 9, Basel 1959, 165f and 194) or were indifferent to the problem (Jaeger [above, n. 23] 204, 298 n. 29) should have known better.

⁸⁸ B. Effe, *RhMus* 113 (1970) 177-180.

⁸⁹ Effe (above, n. 88) concludes (1) "dass die Lehre, die den Ursprung der Religion in der Vergöttlichung der Erfinder sieht, dem Persaios gehört" (p. 179), and (2) "dass Persaios bereits die später besonders für Poseidonios bezeugte Theorie der Erhöhung derjenigen vertreten hat, durch deren hervorragende Geisteskraft die Anfänge der menschlichen Kultur gelegt worden sind" (p. 180). Effe's first conclusion, which proceeds from an ill-considered rejection of Nestle's argument, is demonstrably wrong, because it is based on at least three serious misconceptions: (i) Syntax. Effe's paraphrastic interpretation of the text is unacceptable (p. 179 n. 50: "Erst habe Persaios die Theorie des Prodikos für nicht unglaublich gehalten, dann habe er selbst eine andere Theorie vertreten"; cf. p. 178 n. 45: "... und wenn er *danach* sagt, die Erfinder ... seien für göttlich gehalten worden" [emphases mine]). The correlation of *πρῶτον* with *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* as taken by Effe is syntactically incorrect: word order clearly forbids taking *πρῶτον* with *μὴ ἀπίθανα λέγει*. If correct, the result would be meaningless: why should Philodemus (or his source) here have abandoned his standard practice of indicating thematic progression in the authorities quoted by simple connectives like *δὲ* and *καὶ* and instead have emphasized that Persaeus in his *On the Gods* said one thing first and another thereafter? (ii) Source criticism. Since Effe regards *PHerc* 1428 col. ii 28ff as ambiguous and inconclusive evidence for the opinions of Prodicus and Persaeus, he turns to Cicero and Sextus Empiricus (above, n. 59, and (c)-(d)) as the only explicit sources for the authentic doctrine of Prodicus and dismisses Minucius Felix (above, n. 77) as "späte Notiz" (p. 178) which simply elaborates Cicero's account (but see above, (e)). This is more or less the traditional view (which I

the technical errors in the argument the new conclusion is wrong in principle if seen in the light of intellectual history. For it would have made no sense for Prodicus to call a halt midway along the clearly marked road of religious evolution and to fail to reconcile his own ideas about the origin of religion with the contemporary concept of cultural progress from unsettled living conditions and total dependence on the provisions of nature to cultivation of the soil, human leadership, and civilization.⁹⁰

Collections of fragments are both a blessing and a curse. They are too convenient to be ignored entirely even where clearly deficient for one reason or another. But if one mistakes the means for the end, previous attainments of scholarship can easily become a scholar's worst enemy. An oversight often made in using such collections is to neglect

regard as overly simplistic), except for Effe's underestimation of *PHerc* 1428. But Effe does not even mention the fact that *PHerc* 1428 and Cic. *N.D.* 1,15,38 are connected by *Quellengemeinschaft* (on which see *CronErc* 4 [1974] 9f); he uncritically uses Cicero to discredit *PHerc* 1428 (p. 178); and he fails, in the case of Persaeus (p. 180), to differentiate between Cicero's adaptations from his Epicurean source on the one hand and Cicero's own polemical pseudo-Epicurean additions on the other hand (see my comment on methodology in *GRBS* 13 [1972] 83 n. 47). Effe's indifference to the sources of Cicero's doxography is consistent with his approach to *N.D.* 1,13,33; cf. his *Studien zur Kosmologie und Theologie der aristotelischen Schrift "Über die Philosophie,"* *Zetemata* 50 (Munich 1970) 157 n. 4: "Es ist für unsere Zwecke unerheblich, welche epikureische Quelle Cicero verwertet hat. Auf die Quellenfrage braucht hier also nicht eingegangen zu werden." (iii) Lack of historical judgment. Effe believes that the doctrine of the deification of inventors originated with Persaeus. If so, Persaeus would have claimed originality for ideas that had been current among intellectuals not only a full generation before Persaeus' floruit, as in the case of Hecataeus of Abdera and, presumably, also of Euhemerus, but even more than a century earlier (Eur. *Bacch.* 274ff, esp. 279, *βότρυος ὑγρόν πῶμ' ἤνρε* [see above, n. 64], not to mention Herodotus' rationalistic approach to the origins of some gods, e.g., in 2.146). Effe, like all previous scholars, overlooked *PHerc* 1428 col. iv 1-12, where Persaeus seems to acknowledge his debt to an older tradition (lines 2-5 as printed below). Effe's second conclusion could well be right in some general sense, although it would require substantial modification in the light of *PHerc* 1428 col. iv 1-12. This text shows that Persaeus was personally much less committed to the theory of deification of early benefactors of mankind than Effe's comparison with Posidonius suggests (if Posidonius ever held any such view, which is far from established), and that he was much more of a "Vertreter des Euhemerismus" and of a disbeliever in the "Götter des Kults" than Effe (p. 179f) is prepared to admit (see my argument below.)

⁹⁰ See Guthrie (above, n. 62) III 60ff, and my article in *ZPE* 1 (1967) 50-53 (I take this opportunity to add Diod. 3,73,6 and 4,2,5 to the examples of ἐξήμερον in a cultural and agricultural context).

the original context of a fragment.⁹¹ *PHerc* 1428 cols. ii 28–iii 13 has a context, too, part of which has been completely neglected. The forgotten passage is cols. iii 24–iv 12. It follows col. iii 13 after a lacuna of ten lines, and it precedes the section on Chrysippus which begins at col. iv 12 (*SVF* II 1076). Therefore it forms part of Philodemus' critique of Persaeus. Since it is given in reported speech, it must summarize the opinion of either Persaeus or Prodicus. But neither Diels in his *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* nor H. von Arnim in his *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* refers to it. A scholarly discussion of it seems to be equally lacking.⁹² I reproduce the passage here, because it can be demonstrated that it strengthens the case for the traditional ascription of col. iii 8ff to Prodicus.

PHerc 1428 cols. iii 24–iv 12 (*De Piet.* pp. 76–77 Gomperz)⁹³

iii 24	[.] . αἰ[]
	αἰεῖ[]
	εἰκα[]
	γετα[]

⁹¹ For a timely warning, see now H.-T. Johann, *RhMus* 116 (1973) 352 n. 18: "Es ist längst üblich geworden, Stoisches ohne Angabe der antiken Quelle nach der Fragmentsammlung [i.e., H. von Arnim's *SVF*] zu zitieren. Man verlässt sich dann wohl in der Regel auf diese, was aber zur Folge hat, dass das oft genug nicht mitgelieferte Umfeld eines Zeugnisses unbeachtet bleibt; dass aber gerade dieser Umstand einem rechten Verständnis des Zeugnisses selbst abträglich sein kann, liegt auf der Hand; denn nicht selten lässt sich erst mit Hilfe einer genauen Analyse der kritischen Stellungnahme des bezeugenden Autors das eigentliche Aussageziel der bekämpften Meinung erschliessen." The passage from Philodemus provides a perfect illustration of Johann's eloquent criticism.

⁹² F. Bücheler, *Jahrbuch für Philologie* 91 (1865) 530 = *Kl. Schr.* I (Leipzig-Berlin 1915) 599, simply states that the section on Persaeus is continued in col. iv 1ff. R. Hirzel, who was more explicit, clearly regarded col. iv 2ff as reflecting Persaeus' own opinion, but did not take advantage of his observation (*Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philosophischen Schriften*, II 1, Leipzig 1882, 76 n. 2: "Denn auch die Frage, was dann bei solcher Vorstellung von den Göttern aus dem Cultus und der Frömmigkeit wird, hatte Persäus nicht übergangen, wie Philodem S. 77, 2ff [= *PHerc* 1428 col. iv 2ff] zeigt."). But Hirzel's comment on the syntax of col. iii 6 *πρωτον* to 9 *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* is very confused (p. 75 n. 1), and he ascribed the combination of two stages of religious evolution in a single theory to Persaeus and the two individual stages to Prodicus and Euhemerus respectively. A. S. Pease on Cicero *N.D.* 1, 15, 38 follows Hirzel in his recognition of Persaeus authorship for col. iv 1–12 and, with considerable hesitation, Nestle (above, n. 82) in the ascription of both stages to Prodicus, but does not comment on the content of col. iv 1–12, for which Cicero substituted some acid criticism of his own.

⁹³ On the three sources for the text (papyrus, and the Naples and Oxford

believe in such gods and therefore does not see any point in his turning to them in private prayer. Such a person, obviously, cannot be identified with Prodicus, whose position was much more radical. The difference is one between θεοὺς οὐτ' εἶναί φησιν οὐτ' εἰδέναι (*PHerc* 1428 fr. 19) and μηδὲν διειληφέναι περὶ θεῶν, or, in other words, between extreme philosophical atheism in the case of Prodicus and conciliatory indifference here which tries to mediate between public opinion and one's own philosophical beliefs. But whereas identification with Prodicus is impossible, the links with common Stoic doctrine are numerous: Chrysippus accepted the euhemeristic explanation of the gods of popular religion;⁹⁵ Stoics of all periods engaged in τῶν θείων θεωρία but despised θεραπείαν τῶν θεῶν, which they left to others;⁹⁶ they condemned ostentatious and utilitarian prayer.⁹⁷ It lies in the nature of our scarce documentation for the theology of early Stoicism that all the relevant information is later than Persaeus. But given the Stoic context of our passage, the similarities cannot be accidental. In addition, the biographical data about Persaeus, especially his active political role at the court and in the service of Antigonos Gonatas, provide an excellent historical framework for the proper understanding of col. iv 5-7. Persaeus, whose numerous concessions to the ways of the world

⁹⁵ *PHerc* 1428 col. vi 14-16 (*De Piet.* p. 80 Gomperz) = *SVF* II 1076: κα[ὶ ἂν]θρώπους εἰς θεο[ύ]ς φησι μεταβάλλει[ν], which has its counterpart in Cic. *N.D.* 1,15,39: *atque etiam homines eos qui immortalitatem essent consecuti* (cf. *N.D.* 2,24,62).

⁹⁶ *SVF* III 604-608, which assert μόνους ἱερέας τοὺς σοφοὺς, clearly imply the rejection of public worship. Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2,28,71: *cultus autem deorum est optumus . . . ut eos semper pura, integra, incorrupta et mente et voce veneremur* (i.e., through spiritual worship in contemplation and philosophical prayer, which correspond to λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός respectively); and Sen. *Ep.* 41,1. Epicurus was slightly more tolerant of public performance of religious observances (cf. above, n. 62); the Stoics, who walked a similar tightrope, were quick to denounce Epicurean piety as insincere (Cic. *N.D.* 1,44,123 = Posidonius fr. 22a Edelstein-Kidd).

⁹⁷ Diog. L. 7,124 = Posidonius fr. 40 Edelstein-Kidd: εὐξεται τε, φασίν, ὁ σοφὸς αἰτούμενος τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. Such ἀγαθὰ as are the object of philosophical prayer are by definition immaterial goods (see Plat. *Phaedr.* 279bc; Xen. *Mem.* 1,3,2). Cf. H. Schmidt, *Veteres philosophi quomodo iudicaverint de precibus*, *RGVV* IV 1 (Giessen 1907) esp. 25-38 (p. 25: *veteres Stoici ut Zeno et Chrysippus de precibus scripsisse vix videntur*; but Persaeus did), to which E. Des Places, "La prière des philosophes grecs," *Gregorianum* 41 [1960] 253-270, adds little worth knowing. It was not before Neoplatonism that philosophical prayer was used as an important stepping stone in the soul's ascent toward the divine; cf. H. P. Esser, *Untersuchungen zu Gebet und Gottesverehrung der Neuplatoniker*, Diss. Cologne 1967 (p. 28f on Stoic prayer).

made him the enfant terrible among the Stoics of the first generation, had to be even more conciliatory than the official party line required, because he was a much more prominent and exposed public figure than his teacher Zeno.⁹⁸ The utterly pragmatic attitude and the absence of speculative thought that underlie our text are both characteristic of Persaeus and are both clearly reflected in his practical application of a theory which he borrowed from Prodicus. Hence there can be no doubt that col. iv 2–12 reproduces Persaeus' own position.⁹⁹ It follows from col. iv 2–5, where Persaeus refers to an older euhemeristic tradition (cf. παραδέδονται in line 3) which he accepts, that the neglected text implicitly vindicates Nestle's interpretation of cols. ii 28–iii 13 and his ascription of the two-stage theory of religious evolution to Prodicus.¹⁰⁰

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

⁹⁸ Cf. *PHerc* 1018 (presumably part of Philodemus, *Φιλοσόφων Σύνταξις* [Diog. L. 10,2]; see Crönert [above, n. 21] 127ff esp. 133) col. xiii (ed. A. Traversa, *Index Stoicorum Herculanensis*, Genoa 1952, pp. 23f) = *SVF* I 441 [αἰ]τιο[ν ἐγ]έμετο τοῦτον | καὶ τὸ χωρισθῆναι Ζή|νωνος ὄντος ἔτι πολ|λο[ῦ σ]ὺν [Α]ντιγόνῳ καὶ | [ἄ]μα περ[ι]πλανᾶσθαι, τὸ[ν] | αὐλικὸν οὐ τὸν φιλό[σ]ο|φον ἡρηνόμενον βίον. | [ἐ]ξ οὗ καὶ [τῶν ἀν]θρώ|πων αὐ[τῶν καὶ τῶν] | πόλεων [9–12 letters] κοπαι[. . . , on which see Hirzel (above, n. 92) II 73.

⁹⁹ Further, grammatical proof of this is provided by αὐτός in col. iv 7, which as nominative can only refer to Persaeus, who is the subject of the governing verb (in col. iii 1), and not to Prodicus.

¹⁰⁰ This paper owes much to the enlightening criticism of my colleague Zeph Stewart.

PLATO AND TALK OF A WORLD IN FLUX: *TIMAEUS*
49a6-50b5

DONALD J. ZEYL

FEW passages in the Platonic corpus have been subjected to scholarly analysis as extensively and exhaustively as has the passage of the *Timaeus* considered in this paper: the passage in which Plato introduces a problem whose solution requires the postulation of the "receptacle." The Greek of the passage is notoriously difficult to construe, and frequently ambiguous; indeed, Plato himself is conscious of the difficulty of properly articulating the problem and its solution (cf. 49a3,4; a7-b1; 50a4,5). My excuse for reexamining the passage is the fact that some recent studies of it have proposed a construction of the Greek and with it an interpretation of Plato's argument which, I am convinced, is demonstrably untenable, and part of my purpose is to forestall or undermine a consensus of interpretation of the passage not justified by the text.

All commentators agree that Plato intends to show (a) that the constituents of the physical world ("phenomena") are caught up in constant change (as is forcefully argued in the case of the "elements" at 49b7-c7) and (b) that this fact necessitates a reform in the use of certain locutions as referring expressions. But just what is the reform? The traditional view, as expressed by, e.g., Taylor¹ and Cornford,² took Plato's point to be one about our references to phenomena. They maintained that Plato proposed a new way of referring to phenomena, represented by the expression τὸ τοιοῦτον in favor of the intuitively natural τοῦτο, on the ground that the latter mode of reference could not be maintained in the face of the continual change characterizing phenomena. Their interpretation was vigorously contested, however, by Cherniss in a thorough, critical review of the older commentators.³ Cherniss argued that Plato did not intend to recommend a new, adequate manner of

¹ A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, Oxford, 1928, p. 316.

² F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology*, London, 1937, pp. 178-180.

³ H. Cherniss, "A Much Misread Passage in Plato's *Timaeus* (*Timaeus* 49C7-50B5)," *AJP* LXXV, 1954, pp. 113-130. Hereafter I shall refer to this paper and the ones mentioned in nn. 4 and 5 merely by the author's name.

referring to phenomena and to prohibit an old, inadequate one. According to Cherniss, Plato is outlawing references to phenomena as such, and is introducing things of another sort to which our expressions must refer. In other words, in Cherniss's view of the argument, expressions like $\pi\upsilon\rho$ and $\vartheta\delta\omega\rho$ are not to be applied to phenomena at all, but should be assigned to certain "distinct and self-identical characteristics" represented by the locution $\tau\acute{o}\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$. . . Cherniss's interpretation was subsequently criticized by Norman Gulley,⁴ who charged that it was "incoherent and self-refuting." Gulley's defense of the traditional interpretation and his criticisms of Cherniss were in turn attacked by E. N. Lee,⁵ who undertook to reinstate Cherniss's position, though differing with him on several details.

In the following pages I shall present an interpretation which, though not, I think, the same as the traditional one, follows the traditional construction of the Greek in broad outline. My discussion will progress with reference to the above-mentioned parties to the dispute, and, where relevant, to some other commentators as well. Although the crucial passage begins at 49c7, proper methodology requires that the argument be interpreted in context,⁶ and so I begin at 49a6:

Now what has been said is true, but we must speak more clearly about it. This, however, is difficult, particularly since it requires the raising of a preliminary problem about fire and its consorts in order to do so. For it is difficult to say of each of these which one is the sort of thing one must really call "water" rather than "fire," and which any one thing, rather than just any and everyone of them, in such a way as to employ some reliable and stable account. How then, and in what sense are we to speak of this very thing⁷ and what is the problem about them that we must first properly work through? First, what we have just now⁸ been calling "water" we see — so we think — condensing and turning into stones and earth; again, we see this same thing dissolving and dispersing, turning into wind and air, and air, when kindled, into fire, and fire upon being condensed and quenched, turning back again into the form of air, and air, coming together and thickening, cloud and mist, and from these when they are compressed still more, flowing water, and from water earth

⁴ "The Interpretation of Plato, *Timaeus* 49D-E," *AJP* LXXXI, 1960, pp. 53-64.

⁵ "On Plato's *Timaeus*, 49D4-E7," *AJP* LXXXVIII, 1967, pp. 1-28.

⁶ As Lee rightly insists, pp. 2, 3, 15-17, 20ff. It will be seen that my view of the context differs sharply from his.

⁷ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau'$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$ must, I think (pace Lee, n. 5), refer to the receptacle itself. Cf. $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ at a7. For $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\omega$, "to speak of, to call" see *LSJ* s.v. $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ III3,4.

⁸ $\nu\upsilon\upsilon$, i.e., in the immediate past, as $\omega\upsilon\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ shows; *not* "now," i.e., in our present state of ignorance, as Lee (n. 7) seems to imply.

and stone once more, thus in a cycle passing on their becoming, so it seems.

Plato picks as his paradigm examples of items in the flux the celebrated four στοιχεῖα⁹ although he clearly intends his argument to extend to all phenomena whatever (see 49e7). Nevertheless, his choice of the elements as paradigms must be significant, and its significance becomes apparent, I think, once the role of these four in previous cosmologies is recognized. The "elements," whether all four of them together (as Empedocles held) or only one of them (as, e.g., Anaximenes thought) were the basic stuffs of which the universe was made. All things consisted of, and could be resolved into, these "elements," but they themselves did not consist of, nor could be resolved into, anything else. In other words, the elements were the *basic substrata*. Plato's choice of the elements as his paradigms and his emphatically expressed point that they *do* resolve into something else — into each other, in fact — suggests that he means to challenge this privileged role of the elements. This observation will have some bearing on our overall interpretation of the argument.

Now the sentence in this passage which is crucial to the interpretation of 49c7ff is b2–5, and it must be understood correctly if Plato's solution to the problem there stated is to be properly interpreted. The crucial part of this sentence is the clause οὕτως ὥστε τινὲ πιστῷ καὶ βεβαίῳ χρῆσασθαι λόγῳ. Lee comments on this sentence that "the difficulty is that our present ordinary ways of speaking cannot measure up to Plato's requirements of strictness and reliability . . . Since none of the elemental stuffs is free from change, no λόγος about any of them can be strictly secure."¹⁰ He proceeds to connect the sentence, thus understood, with what Plato, on his reading, is saying at 49d3ff: "... in order to speak 'most securely' of the elements, we must not (as we do now) refer the term 'fire' (or whatever) to phenomenal stuff," adding in a note (n. 7) which clearly exhibits his construction of Plato's Greek in d5,6 that "we must renounce our ordinary way of speaking (and of thinking) about the world."

I do not think that Plato says or even implies in b2–5 or elsewhere in 48e2–49d7 that our "ordinary ways of speaking cannot measure up" to his requirements or that "no λόγος about any phenomena can be strictly secure." Nothing said in this sentence or paragraph, it seems to me, is

⁹ Significantly, Plato does not use this term here. For his explicit rejection of its appropriateness, see 48b5–c2.

¹⁰ Lee, pp. 2, 3.

compatible with, let alone an anticipation of, Plato's alleged later point that "we must not refer the term 'fire' . . . to phenomenal stuff." The first thing to be noticed about b2-5 is its last word, *χαλεπόν*. Plato is drawing our attention to something that is *difficult*, not something that is impossible or illegitimate. In view of the constant transformation of the elements (b7-c7) it is difficult to pick out any specimen of any one of the elements and call it "fire," "water," etc. *in such a way as to* (*οὕτως ὥστε*) *make use of a reliable and stable λόγος*.¹¹ This evidently does not mean that since such a λόγος is not employable in our references to phenomena, those references cannot legitimately be made. What it means is that it is difficult to make such references in a way that will satisfy a certain requirement which nevertheless must be satisfied if the references are to be justified. This requirement is the employment of a *πιστὸς καὶ βέβαιος λόγος*. Thus the solution to the difficulty will be the discovery of such a λόγος. In what follows I will argue that Plato announces it in 49d-e.

If this is right, then Plato is not getting ready to attack, but to defend our ordinary references to phenomena. He realizes that the flux poses a grave threat to our ordinary references to phenomena: since the water that filled my pond last spring has turned to air in the summer's heat, what right did I have in calling it "water" in the first place? Instead of capitulating to the force of this argument, I take Plato to be developing a strategy against it: we *can* go on happily referring to phenomena by their usual names, with one very crucial proviso. And the proviso is given at 49d7ff.

The λόγος that Plato must find if our ordinary references to phenomena are to be saved must be trustworthy and stable in a way in which the λόγος of his predecessors was not. For on the old λόγος, i.e., on the old way of construing our references to phenomena and to the elements *in primis* we involve ourselves in absurdities and contradictions, since this λόγος construes the references as *identifying* references. On its terms, when I call the stuff in my pond "water" I do not *predicate* "water" of the stuff I am referring to (as I would if I described it as "cold" or "wet"); rather, I *identify* it as water. And, in the cosmologies of Plato's predecessors, the ultimate bearers of identity references, the ultimate or basic subjects (the linguistic counterpart to their ontological role as

¹¹ The term "account" by which I have translated λόγος above is almost as semantically versatile as the word it translates. In the present context I take it to mean "rationale," "theory," or, more precisely, "manner of construing," i.e., in this case of construing our references to phenomena. *Tim.* 38a1 furnishes an exact parallel. See *LSJ* s.v. λόγος III2.

basic substrata), were the elements. But now, when I, on the terms of this λόγος, identify the stuff in my pond as water, what am I going to say when it has turned to air? Shall I now identify it as air? But it's the same stuff! If I do, what happens to my former identification?¹² Am I not forced (at least) to contradict myself? Perhaps I might give it both (or, given the cycle, all four) names. But then how do I distinguish the "water" of my pond from the "air" into which it has evaporated? Maybe Anaximenes was right: it's all air. But why air? What sufficient reason is there to pick one element rather than another?

This λόγος, then, is neither reliable nor firm. It cannot be relied upon as adequate for our references to the elements (or to phenomena in general). Its use entails that if we want to continue to refer to them as we ordinarily do, we are forced to shift from one identification to another. Plato requires a λόγος which is free from these devastating consequences.

I now propose to turn to 49c7-50a4, of which I give a deliberately literal, annotated translation.¹³ The notes will immediately follow the translation. I reserve for later comment the "gold" illustration of 50a-b5.

Since these severally thus never appear the same, of which of them would one not be ashamed of firmly asserting that it is some definite *this*, and not another thing (*i*)? It is not possible, but by far the safest course in making up our minds about them is to speak in the following way: what we always (*ii*) see coming to be at different times in different ways, such as fire, [it is safest] not to refer to fire as "this" but as "what is on each occasion such-and-such" (*iii*), nor to water as "this" but as "what is always such-and-such," nor to anything else as though it possessed some stability, of all the things at which we point, using the expressions "this" and "that" and think we are indicating something (*iv*). For it escapes, not awaiting the locutions "this" and "that" and "for this" and every locution which indicts them of being stable (*v*). But [it is safest] not to refer to them severally by these expressions (*vi*); rather, [it is safest] to call what is such-and-such, always recurring as similar in each and every case, just so (*vii*), and specifically, [it is safest to call] fire "what is such-and-such throughout," and so the whole of what has becoming (*viii*). But that in which each of them appears, continually coming to be in it,

¹² The natural reply that what was water is now air, is, of course, precluded by the view of water and air as στοιχεῖα. In fact, as will be seen, it is only on the supposition of Plato's new λόγος that this reply is at all coherent and helpful.

¹³ Following established precedent. To prevent confusion with footnotes, the parts of the translation requiring annotation will be indicated by Roman numerals.

and out of which they perish again, that alone [it is safest] to refer to by the use of the terms "this" and "that"; however, that which is of a certain sort — hot or white or any one of the opposites — and all things composed of these, we must not call *that* any of these things (*ix*).

i

Cherniss (p. 114) insists that *τοῦτο* cannot be taken predicatively here but must be construed as the subject of *ὅν*, its antecedent being *ποῖον* (*ἀντὶ*). He translates: "concerning which of them could one without shame firmly assert that this is any particular thing and not another?" He bases his construction on a comparison with 49b4, which, he says, "indicates that in the present passage *τοῦτο* is the subject of *ὅν*, and *ὅτιοῦν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο* the predicate." I do not see how 49b4 (where *τοῦτο* does not appear) sheds any light whatever on the syntactical role of *τοῦτο* in d2.¹⁴ All that Cherniss's comparison with b4 can justify is taking *ποῖον* as subject of *ὅν*, and this is not disputed. There is another feature of Cherniss's translation that is troubling. By translating *ποῖον ἀντὶ* as "*concerning* which of them" (my italics), he dislodges this accusative from the syntactical role it most naturally and obviously has, that of being the subject of *ὅν*, in order to assign *τοῦτο* to that role. But there is no accusative of reference involved here, and if *ποῖον* is the subject of *ὅν*, *τοῦτο* can hardly be pressed into identical service.¹⁵

The general sense of the sentence is thus the following: Since the phenomenal elements never retain their identity (a résumé of the whole of b7–c7, as *οὕτω* shows), which of them can, without embarrassment, be declared to be some one specific thing, as distinct from something else? The job of *τοῦτο* which thus emerges is that of referring to something that is (thought to be) stable and identifiable, with permanent

¹⁴ K. W. Mills, "Some Aspects of Plato's Theory of Forms," *Phronesis* XIII, 1968, pp. 145–170, esp. pp. 152–161, commenting on Cherniss's construction, writes: "What particularly commends Cherniss's method of construing this question is the way in which it brings it into relation with what Plato had already said at 49b2–5. Plato's exposition is thus given a coherence which on other interpretations it lacks" (p. 154, n. 13). I fail to see the coherence. Mills's own translation of the sentence (p. 154) neglects the *τοῦτο* altogether.

¹⁵ On *ὡς* followed by the participle after a verb of saying (or thinking), see Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 3d ed. 2, p. 94, n. 5; Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, par. 2120f; and Cherniss's comments on the construction at 50b3 (p. 126). The construction aptly suggests that the unwarily asserted belief that a phenomenal instance of one of the elements *is* some thing is, in Plato's view, questionable, to say the least.

characteristics which at any and all times distinguish it from other things. The *ὄν*, I think, is emphatic. Plato is as anxious here as he was at 38b to prohibit talking of *γιννόμενα* as though they are *ὄντα*.¹⁶

ii

I take *ἀεί* with *καθορῶμεν*, as Cherniss does. It is tempting to take it with *ἄλλοτε ἄλλη γιννόμενον*, as Gulley evidently does,¹⁷ but I doubt that their relative positions in the text will allow it.

iii

We now come to the heart of the controversy. There is, as Lee notes, an ambiguity in the schema *μὴ X ἀλλὰ Y προσαγορεύειν Z*¹⁸ which governs d5,6 (and, according to Lee, d7-e8 as well).¹⁹ Thus it could be construed *either* as *A*:

μὴ "X" ἀλλὰ "Y" προσαγορεύειν Z, i.e., not to call the thing Z by the name "X" but by the name "Y" (hereafter called the *A*-reading),

¹⁶ This is pretty clearly the point of 38b, a point that follows consistently from Plato's opening remarks at 27d6-28a1. He is concerned to point out that even such seemingly innocuous expressions as *τὸ γιννόμενον εἶναι γιννόμενον* are "inexact" (*οὐδὲν ἀκριβές*, b3) because they couple *εἶναι* with *γιννόμενα* and thus speak of the latter as *ὄντα*. The argument has been read differently, however, by Cherniss ("*Timaeus* 38a-b5," *JHS* LXXVII, 1957, pp. 18-23), who interprets the "inaccuracy" to consist of the equivocality of the component expressions in the sentences under fire at b1-3, taken separately. But this breaks the continuity of 38b1-3 with the preceding argument at 37e1-38a8, where Plato has argued that *ὄντα* may not be talked about in terms which imply *γένεσις* (cf. a6, "which becoming has attached to what wanders in perception"). Plato makes the converse point in b1-3: we must not speak of *γιννόμενα* in terms that are actually "attached" to *ὄντα*.

¹⁷ See Gulley's translation, p. 53.

¹⁸ Lee, p. 4 and n. 9. But Lee opts without prior argument for *B*, his only proffered reason being "to avoid the ambiguity." His actual reasons seem to emerge in the course of his criticism of Gulley (pp. 15-20), and it may be that the "parallelism" between d5,6 and d7-e6 is also a reason. See next note.

¹⁹ A major point of Lee's in his discussion of these and the next lines of the text is that on his (*B*) reading of the schema, the schema is employed not only in the case of fire (d5,6) and of water (d6,7) but also in making the general point covering all phenomena (d7-e6). See his "analytic translation," p. 5 and nn. 10 and 11, p. 4. It is not clear, however, whether he intends to use it as support for a *B*-reading of the schema (as well as use it to show that Cherniss's interpretation of *ἐκαστα* [e4] is wrong).

or as *B*:

μὴ X ἀλλὰ Y προσαγορεύειν "Z," i.e., not to call the thing X, but the thing Y by the name "Z" (hereafter called the *B*-reading).

In what follows, I intend to defend the *A*-reading.²⁰ For the sake of clarity and brevity, I shall proceed in three stages by examining respectively (1) Cherniss's rejection of *A*, (2) Lee's rebuttal of Gulley's defense of *A*, and (3) the general framework of the argument, which, I shall argue, requires *A*.

1. Cherniss's objections to *A* are all listed on p. 116 of his paper. I shall examine them in the order in which they are raised.

a. His objection to the article in τὸ τοιοῦτον when this expression is construed as *secondary* object of προσαγορεύειν can be met by showing that in fact the *A*-reading (which so construes the expression) requires the article: it is needed to remind us of the fact that the expression is to refer to some *thing*, a *subject* which is temporarily qualified in a certain way (the "what" in "what is such-and-such"). This subject is the one announced in e7ff.

b. The construction of τοῦτο as taking up ὁ καθορώμεν . . . γιγνόμενον on the basis of an alleged parallel at 49e7-50a1 (a considerable distance away) is weak, if not question-begging.

c. The "correspondence" of τοῦτο here to τοῦτο at d2 (as previously construed by Cherniss) has no argument value for one who rejects that previous construction (as I have done in *i* above).

d. Finally, the πῦρ in d6 is alleged to be "worse than redundant" on the *A*-reading (cf. Mills, p. 154, n. 14). This deserves closer scrutiny. Suppose we take Cornford's advice²¹ and delete it from the text. Now the ὥς πῦρ of d5 has no syntactical connections with anything else in the sentence. Thus, on the *A*-reading the primary object of προσαγορεύειν must be the ὁ of two lines earlier — a considerable distance from this verb. Moreover, if Plato is operating with the schema μὴ X ἀλλὰ Y προσαγορεύειν Z (as he clearly appears to be in these lines), then we *do* have definite values for X and Y, but none for Z other than the ὁ (which cannot be considered a value in any case), and although ὥς πῦρ may *suggest* a value for it, it cannot supply one grammatically because of its isolated position. And for this reason, I suspect, Plato puts in πῦρ in d6 as the primary object of προσαγορεύειν. It is true

²⁰ Gulley (pp. 57-62) has offered some very trenchant criticisms of Cherniss's construction (especially as it introduces an intolerable ambiguity in the use of τοῦτο) to which this defense may be taken as supplementary.

²¹ P. 179, n. 1.

that a slight anacolouthon thus results, but this is a small enough price to pay for the clarity gained.

2. I now turn to Lee's criticisms (pp. 15–20) of Gulley insofar as they are pertinent to a defense of *A*.

a. Gulley had argued (p. 58) that Plato's point in e2,3 (and by implication in e1 also) is obviously about our application of locutions like "this" and "that" to phenomena, and that Plato prohibits such applications. Consequently "consistency seemingly requires" that this should have been his point at d5 and 6 as well. Lee's reply to this ("all that consistency requires is *consistency*, not repetition!") shows that he has failed to see that the function of e1–4 is *explanatory*. What is wrong with calling phenomena "this?" Plato's answer is: to do so is to imply that what is so designated is stable (*ὥς τινα ἔχον βεβαιότητα*), whereas in fact phenomena are not stable (*φεύγει γάρ . . .*) and so cannot be referred to by "this." What Plato is saying can be put into the following form: do not do X (1), for doing X (2) implies a state of affairs Y which is incompatible with doing X (3). Now it is true that (2) and (3) do repeat (1), but it will be readily seen that, given the explanatory context, such repetition is not at all unnatural.

b. Lee further argues (pp. 18, 19) that it is in fact unlikely that Plato's concern in d5 and 6 has been about the word *τοῦτο* since when he *does* explicitly wish to make a point about this word, he is ready (in the absence of quotation marks) to indicate this by some locution such as he employs at e1; e2,3; and 50a1,2. In this context Lee invokes the logician's distinction between "use" and "mention" and interprets Gulley's construction (with its quotation marks around *τοῦτο* in d5 and 6) as implying that Plato already *mentions* *τοῦτο* in d5 and 6, as well as in e1 and 50a1,2 (p. 18), and Lee thinks it strange that only the latter set of lines contain Plato's mentioning-devices, if Gulley is right. This makes it unlikely, according to Lee, that *τοῦτο* in d5 and 6 should be construed the way Gulley construes it. In reply, it can be said that it is not the case that Plato, even on Gulley's construction, *mentions* *τοῦτο* in d5 and 6; the mere appearance of quotation marks around a given expression does not suffice to show this. What Plato is doing with *τοῦτο* here is *using* this term, but using it *as a term*.²² And so it is quite natural

²² The difference between *mentioning* a word and *using it as a word* is indicated by the fact that in cases where a word *w* is mentioned, *w* can always be expanded into "the word *w*," whereas this is impossible in cases where *w* is merely used as a term. The following might serve as an illustration: in teaching my child good manners, I might say, "Don't call anyone 'dummy,' for 'dummy' is a nasty word." It should be obvious at once that only in the second case "dummy" can be expanded into "the word 'dummy.'"

that Plato, after *using* τοῦτο as a term (as in Gulley's translation and mine), goes on to *mention* it with a view to criticizing its use.

c. Another charge against Gulley is the "self-refuting character" of his interpretation. Lee finds the alleged new mode of referring to phenomena by τὸ τοιοῦτον difficult to reconcile with the fact that phenomena are "fugitive." But his question "... if they are as fugitive as all that [as described in e2-4], how can they offer any foothold even to the designation τοιοῦτον?" is answered by the mere observation that τὸ τοιοῦτον, unlike τοῦτο, just is *not* one of those terms the application of which implies the stability of its subject. Plato is not here arguing that the application of *any* term indicts its subject(s) of being stable; *that* is his point at *Theatetus* 182d-183b. What is said here at e2-4 is *not* that a phenomenon does not "abide" any description whatever; only that it just doesn't abide those that imply stability.²³

3. There are several more general reasons for objecting to the *B*-reading. First, it does not provide a solution to the problem stated at b2-5. For this problem was *not*: what sort of things provides adequate references for terms like "fire," etc., but: how can we in a satisfactory manner use terms like "fire," etc., to refer to *these* (τούτων, b2), i.e., to the phenomenal elements. It is no solution to say: don't use these terms to refer to phenomena at all, but to something else. Second, as Gulley has observed, the *B*-reading introduces a *fourth* basic item into the economy of Plato's universe, a class of things which Cherniss calls "distinct and self-identical characteristics" (p. 128) and Lee speaks of as "recurrent, stable and determinate characters" (p. 27), thus making Plato's basic ontological framework consist of four instead of the three constituents which he himself allows at 48e-49a and 52a. Mills, who adopts the *B*-reading, has noticed the force of this objection and attempts to argue for the compatibility of the *B*-reading with the professed tripartite ontology. His solution is to take Plato's talk of τὸ τοιοῦτον as "referring to Forms, not to copies of Forms" (p. 154). This involves him, as he sees, in maintaining that Forms enter the

²³ Lee's subsequent question, "And even if that term could somehow get a grip on the phenomenon, how could it possibly satisfy Plato's demand for a πιστὸς καὶ βέβαιος λόγος?" rests upon his misinterpretation of this phrase (see p. 127 above). On my interpretation of the phrase, the very application of τὸ τοιοῦτον to phenomena illustrates the employment (cf. χρῆσασθαι, b5) of the λόγος. And further, to call a phenomenon τὸ τοιοῦτον is precisely "the most sure and certain by far (ἀσφαλέστατα μακρῶ)" manner of speaking about phenomena (cf. περὶ τούτων, d4, which, though strictly governed by τιθεμένων, is most naturally understood to go with λέγειν as well).

receptacle, which is clearly in conflict with what Plato actually says. His way around this is to suggest that "Plato assimilates the way in which Forms are received by space into the way people are reflected in mirrors."²⁴ As a statement about Plato's procedure here, this is patently false: there is no talk of mirrors in the entire passage. In any case, given the analogy, then just as people themselves don't really enter mirrors (but their reflections do), so Forms themselves don't really enter the receptacle (but their imitations do). But what is a reflection anyway? It is "a queer sort of object, and on examination is discovered not to be an object at all." Reflections are not things in their own right. The conclusion that Mills apparently wishes us to draw is that we cannot single out reflections or imitations of Forms as a distinct class of things at all; if anything, they are simply appearances of Forms. But surely this line of reasoning overreaches itself. For its result is that Plato now has only *two* basic ingredients in his cosmology: the Forms (including their images) and the receptacle. But the three items listed by Plato in both passages cited above are: (1) Forms, (2) imitations of Forms, and (3) the receptacle. Plato clearly *does* draw an ontological line between Forms and their imitations; they are distinguished as two of the three εἶδη.

Third, and in consequence of the last point, what is the role of the τὸ τοιοῦτον objects in terms of the division of labor outlined at 50b-d? Cherniss identifies the "self-identical characteristics" with the μιμήματα of the Forms. But the μίμημα of 48e6 is explicitly said to "possess becoming" (γένεσιν ἔχον, 49a1; cf. e7), and its counterpart in the repetition of the division at 50c7-d2 is τὸ γιγνόμενον, i.e., the phenomenal, becoming thing. Further, the position that "fire" may not refer to phenomenal stuff but to such a characteristic is implicitly refuted at 51b4-6, where the names of the elements are unhesitatingly given to the appropriately modified parts of the receptacle.²⁵ Lee has also rejected Cherniss's assignment of the μιμήματα; in his view²⁶ the μιμήματα are the particular occurrences of the stable characters, and

²⁴ I wish to record my protest against the tendency among commentators to exegete the passage by means of a "mirror" analogy. The receptacle *receives* and mirrors *reflect*, and the analogy here escapes me. The mirror certainly never assumes the momentary shapes of its "reflections." Surely Plato's own "gold" analogy is much more apposite.

²⁵ In his discussion of these lines on p. 129 Cherniss does not appear to have noticed that they jeopardize his thesis.

²⁶ "On the Metaphysics of the Image in Plato's *Timaeus*," *The Monist* L, 1966, pp. 367-368.

not those characters as such. But it is not clear where he would locate the "characters" themselves in Plato's threefold scheme.²⁷

iv

The construction of the clause *ὅσα . . . ἡγούμεθα τι* has also divided the commentators. As one might expect, the *A*-readers, who take *ἄλλο μηδὲν (τούτων)*²⁸ as *primary* object of a supplied *προσαγορεύειν*, will consequently take *ὅσα* to refer to the phenomena which we are not allowed to call "this." The *B*-readers, who construe it as *secondary* object, will take *ὅσα* to refer to the "things" to which such predicates as "fire" (as in "this is fire") refer.²⁹

The division is, moreover, carried over into the syntax within the clause itself. Thus Taylor, Cornford, and Gulley (the *A*-readers) construe *ὅσα* as the object of *δεικνύντες*, and Cherniss, Lee, and Mills (the *B*-readers) construe it either as object (Cherniss, Mills) or as subject (Lee) of *δηλοῦν*. Now this difference of construction is the consequence of consistently carrying through their constructions of the preceding lines. Thus, on the *A*-reading, we point to phenomena, call them "this," and in so doing we think (mistakenly) that we are pointing

²⁷ Moreover, it is not clear to me how Cherniss's interpretation of these lines and the moral he draws from it (p. 128, suppl. remark 1) can be consistent with his own interpretation of an argument in the *Theaetetus*, the argument against the "Fluxers" (181bff) which he takes as an "indirect proof" for the theory of Forms (see "The Philosophical Economy of the Theory of Ideas," reprinted in R. E. Allen, ed., *Studies in Plato's Metaphysics*, New York, 1965). The hypothesis of Forms is necessary if the phenomena are to be saved. The threat to phenomena here is a consequence of the flux ontology: references to phenomena are impossible under its conditions. Now surely, if the hypothesis is to avert this consequence, the least it must do is somehow guarantee our references to phenomena. But then why is it that in the *Timaeus*, where the Forms are present with all their metaphysical power, they are not invoked for that purpose?

²⁸ The *τούτων* is (happily, for the *A*-readers) not expressed.

²⁹ This at least seems to be the role which Cherniss gives to *ὅσα* as secondary object. And thus it is inaccurate to say, as Gulley does (p. 58), that on Cherniss's reading the reference of the clause is the *predicates* "fire," etc. (What kind of "things" these referents must be will be discussed momentarily below.) But Gulley's charge does go home against Lee, whose interpretation of *δηλοῦν* (elaborately defended on pp. 9-12) necessitates the construction of *ὅσα* as referring to *predicates*, i.e., to the units of language themselves, and not to the "things" to which they supposedly refer. But this is surely anomalous, and the anomaly is akin to Lee's failure to distinguish *mentioning* a word from *using* it as a word (n. 22 above). On Lee's interpretation Plato is forbidding us to call certain things *predicates*. (Lee's rendition of *ὅσα* as "... by any other of the terms which ..." in his analytic translation (p. 5) obscures this anomaly.)

at what is something in its own right. Now it is pretty clear (and apparently agreed by all) that what we are pointing to must be phenomena, whether this actually said in the text or not. But, on the *B*-reading, the *ὅσα* cannot be actual phenomena (cf. Cherniss, p. 117, n. 5 sub fin.) since *ὅσα* is a sort of variable for *secondary* objects. And what would these secondary objects be? They are the fictitious "entities" which we naively think exist, and can be referred to by predicates such as "fire." In other words, they are putatively stable phenomena. But since Plato does not countenance such entities, he cannot very well say that we in fact do point to them. Hence, on this reading, *ὅσα* is not a suitable object for *δεικνύντες*. (For Lee's different way of taking this clause, see above, n. 29).

Now from a purely syntactical point of view, I think that the construction given to this clause by the *A*-readers is the easier and the more natural one (though the other is not impossible). First, *ὅσα* goes more naturally with *δεικνύντες*, the word that immediately follows it in the text, than with *δηλοῦν*, which is a considerable distance from it. Second, the *B*-readers leave *δεικνύντες* hanging by itself (the dative that follows is clearly governed by *προσχωρόμενοι*), as their translations show.³⁰

v

All commentators are agreed that *φεύγει . . . ὑπομένον* describes a fleeting phenomenon. Consistently with his reading of the previous lines, Cherniss takes a supplied *τοῦτο* (in d7) as the grammatical antecedent of *φεύγει* (p. 117, n. 5). Lee rejects such a grammatical connection (p. 6) and claims that the subject of *φεύγει* is just such a thing at which we point and about which we talk, as in e1. I think Lee is right in locating the subject of *φεύγει* where he does, but this does not rule out any grammatical connection with what has preceded. Consistently with my previous reading, therefore, I take *ἄλλο μηδέν (τοῦτων)* as the grammatical antecedent of *φεύγει*. Since the *ἄλλο* is itself any specimen member of the whole class *ὅσα δεικνύντες*, and the subject of *φεύγει* is itself also any specimen member of the same class, there is no reason, on the *A*-reading, to deny *φεύγει* a specific grammatical antecedent.

The switch from the singular *φεύγει . . . ὑπομένον* to the plural *αὐτά* (e4) has also arrested the commentators. Cherniss accounts for it by

³⁰ See the translations of Cherniss and Lee. I find Mills's translation, which apparently construes *τι* as the object of *δεικνύντες*, impossible.

attributing to Plato an immediate and unexplained switch from talking about the "phenomenon" to talking about the "multiple and transient phases of the phenomenal flux" (n. 7). Gulley criticizes this explanation and accounts for the switch by suggesting that ὅσα is the antecedent of αὐτά, an interpretation which is closed to Cherniss since he does not believe that ὅσα refers to actual phenomena. Although the interruption of the singular φεύγει . . . ὑπομένον does make such a grammatical connection difficult, I believe that the reference of αὐτά is in fact the same as that of ὅσα. For the subject of φεύγει, as we saw, is any specimen member of the ὅσα class, and therefore represents that class as a whole; thus whatever locutions are inappropriate to such a representative member of the class are accordingly inappropriate to all members.

vi

I take ἕκαστα as primary object of λέγειν and ταῦτα as secondary object. Cherniss and Lee, understandably, reverse this (Mills takes ταῦτα ἕκαστα together as secondary object). But ἕκαστον and its plural elsewhere in the passage refer consistently to momentarily distinguishable phenomena. (As in d1; see my translation above. Also, I believe, at e5 and again at e8, where, I am sure, the reference is to phenomena as such, and not to "characteristics," whether distinct and self-identical or recurrent and episodic. See n. 40 below.) This suggests a similar reference here, and if this is right, the role of ἕκαστα as secondary object is precluded.

ταῦτα, then, is secondary object of λέγειν. For the reason noted by Taylor,³¹ I doubt that ταῦτα is simply the plural of τοῦτο, the secondary object of the previous line. Accordingly, with Taylor I take ταῦτα as *referring* to the various τοῦτο expressions whose legitimate application to phenomena Plato denies, and not as itself the plural of those expressions.

vii

The construction of e5 and 6 has presented a problem for those who adopt the *A*-reading. The οὕτω is awkward and in need of an apology

³¹ P. 318. Also noted by Cherniss, p. 119. It may, however, be possible that the presence of ἕκαστα justifies such a construction of ταῦτα: just as ἕκαστα collectively designates a group of things each of which is a ἕκαστον, so ταῦτα may collectively designate a group of things each of which may (properly or improperly) be called τοῦτο.

if τὸ τοιοῦτον . . . συμπάντων (either in part or in its entirety; Cherniss has presented good reasons for the latter alternative, pp. 120–121) is, like the previous occurrences of τὸ τοιοῦτον to be construed as a secondary object (in this case, of καλεῖν). But on this interpretation, the role of οὕτω is far from clear. Cherniss is right in insisting (against Taylor)³² that the function of οὕτω is to refer backward, not forward (p. 121). Cornford takes οὕτω as “resuming the long phrase that precedes,”³³ a construction endorsed by Gulley (p. 54, n. 4). But this is awkward, to say the least.

The problem is resolved if we take τὸ τοιοῦτον as *primary* object of καλεῖν, and translate the οὕτω as “just that,” i.e., as referring to the primary object and giving it the role of secondary object as well. Thus X οὕτω καλεῖν means X καλεῖν “X”.³⁴ Plato’s point is then simply the following: Each and every phenomenal thing is something that recurrently turns up similar to what it has been on a prior occasion and to what it will be again on some later occasion as it passes through the cosmic cycle again and again. Thus what is fire now, has previously been, and will later be again, fire. But it is only intermittently fire, never permanently. Consequently, this is how we should speak of it: not as a permanent “this,” but as a recurrent “such-and-such.”³⁵

viii

The clauses καὶ δὴ καὶ . . . γένεσιν apply the general point just made, first to fire, and second, to all phenomena in the realm of becoming whatever. Thus all instances of phenomenal fire, and all phenomena in general, should be described each as τὸ τοιοῦτον . . .

It is curious to note that both Taylor and Cornford at this juncture

³² P. 318.

³³ P. 179, n. 4.

³⁴ I owe this construction to a suggestion of Professor G. E. L. Owen. It may be that Eva Sachs has anticipated it (see Cherniss, p. 122). It is different in sense from the interpretation which Hackforth gave to his similar construction (CQ XXXVIII, 1944, pp. 36–37). Hackforth translates οὕτω as “accordingly” and glosses: “the right way to indicate a quality is by an adjective, such as πυρῶδες or ὑδαρές.” But not only does this recommendation find no support elsewhere in the passage; it also contradicts Hackforth’s own general interpretation of the argument, viz., that “the purpose of the whole context is not to correct our ordinary *reference* of the terms fire, air, etc.” (p. 36).

³⁵ The use of οὕτω with the passive of καλεῖν is well recognized; see the reference in *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* IV 871, with example in Diodorus. Although this does not *necessarily* justify the use with the active, it gives some plausibility to it.

slip into a *B*-construction of this clause. In Taylor's case this is due to his interpretation of οὕτω as referring forward to secondary objects of καλεῖν such as "fire," "water," "stone," etc.³⁶ This leads him to construe καὶ δὴ καὶ as an exegetic connective (a sense that it does not naturally have) and πῦρ as a specimen secondary object of καλεῖν, thus pushing τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοιοῦτον into the role of primary object. Cornford, who does not share Taylor's interpretation of οὕτω, nevertheless follows him in his construction of the καὶ δὴ καὶ clause.³⁷

The anomaly was noted by Hackforth,³⁸ who proposed a colon after καλεῖν and understanding ἐστίν in the καὶ δὴ καὶ clause, with πῦρ as its subject and τὸ διὰ παντός τοιοῦτον as its object. The argument would then proceed as a syllogism. But a syllogism would be rather stilted in this context. In fact, as Cherniss saw (n. 10), the conclusion of the supposed syllogism is not even expressed. Moreover, Hackforth's proposal also entails a deviation from the usual sense of καὶ δὴ καὶ.

Gulley has avoided both the anomaly of Taylor and Cornford and the pitfalls of Hackforth's attempt to correct it. He translates the clause in much the same way as I have done. This translation has drawn the fire of Lee, who objects to it, not on argued grounds, but by appealing to the authority of "Hellenists of stature" and to an intuitive sense of "the force of the Greek." He does not attempt to show *how* the force of the Greek is violated by this translation (pp. 19-20).

The construction of the clause καὶ ἅπαν ὅσονπερ ἂν ἔχη γένεσιν provides another opportunity to test the viability of the *B*-reading. The ἅπαν... is clearly parallel to πῦρ of the preceding clause (cf. Cherniss, n. 12) and thus, on the *B*-reading, secondary object of καλεῖν. But now, since πῦρ on this reading designates one of the "distinct and self-identical characteristics," it follows that ἅπαν designates the class, not of phenomena, but of "distinct and self-identical characteristics" that belong to generation.³⁹ It is essential, on this interpretation, that the subject of ἔχη γένεσιν should not be any phenomenal thing(s). But this is surely questionable. The expression γένεσιν ἔχον occurs at 49a1 and refers to one of the three classes in the economy of the

³⁶ P. 318.

³⁷ P. 179.

³⁸ P. 36.

³⁹ Cherniss writes (n. 12): "The *only* factors in generation that can properly be called by the distinct names, 'fire,' 'air,' 'water,' etc. are the characteristics which being perpetually identical are severally distinct..." (my italics). The expression "in generation" is apparently invoked to give some force to the ἔχη γένεσιν in the text. Certainly Cherniss's "only," which supposedly picks out a subclass of "factors in generation," ill accords with Plato's ἅπαν.

universe. Its equivalent in the repetition of this classification at 50c7-d2 is τὸ γιγνόμενον, which in the *Timaeus* is used regularly to refer to (the realm of) phenomena. The reference of the καὶ ἅπαν clause, then, is unmistakably to phenomena. Thus either the parallel with πῦρ must be given up (an impossibility) or it must be recognized that πῦρ itself refers to phenomenal fire.

ix

In the first part of this sentence Plato declares that only the receptacle, in which phenomena⁴⁰ appear as “coming to be” and out of which they “perish,” is entitled to the reference of τοῦτο. It is not quite clear what he is saying in the second part of the sentence. He is *either* (a) prohibiting the application of “this” and the like to things that are qualified in some way (these are, in my view, phenomena, similarly described at 49e5), or (b) prohibiting the attribution of qualitative terms to the receptacle. Cherniss insists on (b), condemning (a) as “perverse.”⁴¹ Although (b) is just as plausible grammatically, I have opted for (a); the sentence is clearly parallel to 50b2-3, τὸ δὲ τρίγωνον . . . ὄντα, and thus the construction given to the present sentence depends on the viability of the construction to be given to that sentence in the “gold example.”

I turn now to the “gold example” (50a4-b5):

But we must venture to speak of this yet once again, and more clearly. If someone were molding all shapes in gold and went steadily on remolding each one into every other, then if someone (else) were to point at one of them and were to ask “what is it?”, it would be far the safest with regard to truth to say “gold,” but as for “triangle” and whatever other shapes came to be in it, [it would be far the safest] never to say that they are these (*x*) since in fact they change while one makes the statement, but should he be willing to accept, with some degree of safety, “what is such-and-such,” to be content (*xi*).

⁴⁰ That ἑκάστα must refer to phenomena and not to the “perpetually identical characteristics which are severally distinct” (Cherniss, n. 13) is suggested by ἐγγιγνόμενα, a compound of ἐν and γιγνόμενα — thus virtually describing the ἑκάστα as γιγνόμενα — and proved by ἀπόλλυται, which means “perish,” “cease to exist” (cf. Cebes’ fears about the soul at *Phd.* 70a and 87d), and not merely “pass away,” as Cherniss translates it. See *LSJ* s.v. ἀπόλλυμαι.

⁴¹ For a sound criticism of Cherniss’s procedure here, see Gulley, p. 60.

As Lee has noted,⁴² the "gold example" is framed around three possible replies to the "what is it?" question at b1. The first (the "safest") reply is to say, "It's gold." No one disputes that this is the answer, but the significance of the question, and hence that of the answer, requires some comment. For the reference of "it" in the question is not simply to the lump of gold as such, but to the gold as now having some particular shape, as the *αὐτῶν ἐν* of the previous lines makes clear. This means that the questioner would expect a different reply if the lump had a different shape, or again, that as soon as the shape changed he could ask the question all over again. But the "safest" answer undercuts this expectation. For when full weight is given to the question (which asks for an *identification* of what the goldsmith has in his hands: surely there is some emphasis on the *ἐστὶ*) it is seen that such replies as "triangle," "square," etc., fail to satisfy the requirements of the question since they *μεταξὺ τιθεμένου μεταπίπτει*. As what does the lump *remain*, as gold or as a triangle? Surely if the requirements of the "what is it?" question are to be most securely met, the reply must be: "gold,"

How does the analogy apply to what has preceded?⁴³ The "gold-as-such" is the analogue to the receptacle, and the "gold-shaped-in-a-particular-way" is the analogue to a phenomenon (or perhaps to the world of phenomena in general). Thus when we point to a phenomenon, e.g., a flame of fire, and ask "what is it?" the safest answer would be to say, "it is [part of (cf. 51b4-6)] the receptacle." For it may come and cease to be fire but it remains permanently (part of) the receptacle.

This leads to the second possible answer (b2-3). The difficulty here is the interpretation of *ταῦτα ὡς ὄντα*. Cherniss translates: "... that these are," and interprets the prohibition as an injunction "never to say 'this is triangle,' 'this is square,' etc." (n. 17). This interpretation is governed by his view of Plato's earlier injunction not to apply "this" to phenomena, which he takes to come to an injunction not to say "this

⁴² In another paper, "On the 'Gold-Example' in Plato's *Timaeus* (50A5-B5)," originally given at the 1965 meeting of the Society for Ancient Greek Philosophy and now printed in *Essays in Ancient Greek Philosophy*, ed. John P. Anton with George L. Kustas, Albany, N.Y., 1971, pp. 219-235; here p. 219. Further references to this paper will be indicated by "Lee*".

⁴³ Lee's interpretation of the "gold-example" leads him to reject the view (held by Cherniss) that the example parallels (better: illustrates) the whole of 49d-e. But surely Plato *intends* it as an illustration of his previous point; cf. *αὐτοῦ περί* at a5. See Lee*, p. 222.

is fire" of phenomenal fire.⁴⁴ Lee's construction of the phrase is more plausible. He takes the *ταῦτα* as referring back to the various *σχήματα* of b2 and construes: "never to speak of those — which alter even while one speaks — as being" (Lee*, p. 224), and gives a very plausible defense of his interpretation. But he rejects the view that *τὸ τοιοῦτον* at b4 takes up the *τὸ τοιοῦτον* locutions earlier in the argument, and rejects the view that Plato is drawing a contrast between *τὸ δὲ τρίγωνον . . . ὄντα* and *ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ . . . ἀγαπᾶν*. I believe that the contrast is nevertheless there, and that the latter phrase *allows* *τρίγωνον*, etc., as an answer to the "what is it?" question, with a certain proviso, and so I take it that the former *forbids* this answer without it: the proviso being that the subject so described (by, e.g., "triangle") should be viewed not as a *τοῦτο* but as *τὸ τοιοῦτον*. Hence in the present clause I believe that we are given the prohibition to speak of the triangularly shaped gold as "this." Thus I take *ταῦτα* in b3 as playing a role similar to *ταῦτα* in 49e4 and *τούτων* in 50a4, viz., as referring to the various *τοῦτο* expressions (or else, if n. 31 has successfully justified a precedent, as itself being the plural of those expressions).

The presence of quotation marks around "triangle" in my translation shows that I take *τρίγωνον* as already an alternative reply to the "what is it?" question. The situation we are thus to envisage is this: suppose the goldsmith *doesn't* give the "safest" reply, but instead answers "triangle." Is this an acceptable answer? I take Plato to be saying: no and yes. It all depends on how you construe the logical job of "triangle."

xi

So far, then, we have learned (1) that the "safest" answer to the "what is it?" question is "gold" and (2) that the answer "triangle," etc., where the triangle is considered a "this" is unacceptable. The last clause, *ἀλλ' ἐὰν . . . ἀγαπᾶν*, tells us that the answer "triangle" where the triangle is considered as "what is such-and-such" is acceptable. It is an answer which, while not as safe as the safest, nevertheless can be given "with some degree of safety" (*μετ' ἀσφαλείας τινος*).

But though we must be content if the questioner will accept it, this does not mean, as Lee holds, that the answer itself is a "second-best" answer (Lee*, p. 223; cf. pp. 226–228). Nor can I accept Lee's view

⁴⁴ Cf. Lee, who characterizes the whole of *Timaeus* 49–50 as "concerned with the logic of statements involving ostension" (Lee*, p. 231).

of τὸ τοιοῦτον. His main reason for rejecting the standard view that τὸ τοιοῦτον is simply a further instance of the τὸ τοιοῦτον locutions earlier and now brought into the gold example is the absence of the adverbs and adverbial phrases that had accompanied all the previous appearances of the expression. But surely the very variety of the modifiers used suggests that no one of them has been christened as a technical component of the τὸ τοιοῦτον formula, and thus that each is dispensable. In fact, in only one of the four previous occasions is the adverbial modifier encased within the locution (at 49e6,7), thus justifying some doubt as to whether the adverbs were really meant to be part of the formula at all. Further, it is arguable that τὸ ὅποιον οὖν τι in a2 is itself an echo of τὸ τοιοῦτον⁴⁵ and here the adverbs are wholly lacking. More seriously, however, if τὸ τοιοῦτον in b4 has the function which Lee assigns to it, we must attribute to Plato a rather violent change in the sense given to an expression which, on any reading, is a key expression in Plato's argument.

But there are further difficulties. If τὸ τοιοῦτον in b4 means merely something like "such an answer," i.e., one in terms of "triangle," etc., then just why is it that "triangle" is an answer forbidden by the criteria of "safest" answers but *allowed* by the criteria of the moderately safe answers? Lee suggests that the difference lies not in the logical nature of the answer itself but in the degree of philosophical sophistication of the questioner. Thus he is led to interpret ἀσφάλεια as "an inward feeling of security or confidence," i.e., as subjective assurance (Lee*, p. 226),⁴⁶ and to sketch the questioner as someone who is apparently not able to grasp the significance of the safest answer. It follows from this that, had the questioner the requisite philosophical astuteness, the answer in terms of τὸ τοιοῦτον (on any interpretation of that phrase) would be one which he would *not* be entitled to accept, Lee goes to some length to support this interpretation by citing other passages in which Plato recommends different teaching procedures for pupils of different philosophical ability (Lee*, pp. 228-230). But in these cases it is clear just how the procedure recommended for the less

⁴⁵ The reference of τὸ ὅποιον οὖν τι must surely be to some qualified *thing* (as the article shows) and not to some quality. Thus θερμόν and λευκόν are specimen qualities that this thing might have. The expression is thus a sort of variable for phenomena; and on the *A*-reading defended above, τὸ τοιοῦτον has an identical function.

⁴⁶ As Lee recognizes, there is clearly a contrast between the μακρῶ ἀσφαλέστατα answer and the μετ' ἀσφαλείας τινος answer (Lee*, pp. 223-224). But if the "safety" of the latter is subjective, that of the former must be likewise — an interpretation that can hardly be sustained by the context.

gifted is appropriate to their state of enlightenment. In the *Timaeus*, however, if Lee is right, this is lacking. We are not told, nor can we guess, just *why* the answer "triangle" is suitable for someone less philosophically able. We are apparently simply told that an answer which, strictly speaking, is wrong, is nevertheless right in some cases *only* because the person to whom it is given is a certain sort of person. This seems to me hardly plausible. To be sure, we *are* told that an answer which, strictly speaking, is wrong, is, on a not so strict view, right. But this has nothing to do with the state of the questioner, and everything to do with the nature of the answer.⁴⁷

On my view, the τὸ τοιοῦτον takes up the previous τὸ τοιοῦτον phrases and provides the necessary and sufficient condition for whatever "safety" the answer "triangle" might possess. It is precisely because we refer to what is τὸ τοιοῦτον when we point to the triangular lump of gold and call it "triangle" that the answer is viable at all. And the questioner may well be reluctant to accept his, not because he is philosophically naive, but because he has been trained on the old λόγος (see my comments on 49a6-d4 above). For he is wont to construe all answers to the "what is it?" question as identifications, i.e., as implying that the answer permanently describes the subject in question. Thus he might insist that what he is pointing to either is or is not (to be identified as) a triangle; that we can't have it both ways. Plato's recommendation then is that we must try to persuade him to see that his basic assumption is wrong; that to call the triangularly shaped lump of gold a triangle is after all a justifiable procedure in spite of its transience. It is justifiable precisely because it is not an identification of a permanent object.

It should be noted that the answer recommended in this clause is just as philosophically legitimate as the first answer considered. Its lesser safety must not be sought here.⁴⁸ But where must it be sought?

⁴⁷ Lee has carefully analyzed the meanings of ἐθέλειν, δέχεσθαι, and ἀγαπᾶν as here used in order to support his interpretation. But even if we accept the meanings of these terms for which Lee plausibly argues, given his general interpretation, an anomaly comes to the surface. We are to be content if the questioner is willing to accept a certain sort of answer to the "what is it?" question, i.e., we must not expect anything *more* than that. This suggests that we might well expect the questioner to be reluctant to accept this answer, and we need only overcome his reluctance. But why should the questioner be reluctant to accept the answer "triangle" to his question? What *other* answer might he have preferred?

⁴⁸ Cf. the fact that in the *Phaedo* Plato distinguished a "safe" hypothesis (100d8; 101d1-3; 105b7-c1) and a "cleverer" hypothesis (105c2), the latter being, by implication, less safe than the former. But in this case, the less safe of the two is also the philosophically more sophisticated. It is the "safest"

Why is the answer "triangle" less safe than the answer "gold?" Because it does not fulfill the requirements of the "what is it?" question in its obvious, straightforward sense, the sense in which it asks for the identification of the given subject and carries with it the requirement of permanence (cf. 37e3ff). The answer "gold" satisfies those requirements; the answer "triangle" does not. But then the answer "gold" does not satisfy all our "what is it?" questions. To be told that the gold triangle at which he is pointing is "gold" and then to be told that the gold square at which he subsequently points is also "gold" is not likely to satisfy the questioner, who asked the "what is it?" question expecting a different answer in each case. He will feel that his question has been misunderstood. Thus the question must also bear a sense in which "triangle" and "square" can be offered as different and both acceptable answers to it. And this sense is one which doesn't require an identification of the subject, but a description of how it is presently qualified.

Having looked at the argument, we are now in a position to determine its overall meaning. We saw that Plato's discussion began with the statement of a difficulty, viz., that of referring to phenomena (represented by the "elements") by their usual names and thus distinguishing them in a way that would be guaranteed by a *πιστός καὶ βέβαιος λόγος*. Plato presents his solution to this problem in the passage just analysed, *Timaeus* 49c7-50b5. That is, he provides the logical condition by which references to phenomena by their usual names will be justified. And the condition is this: when we refer to a given phenomenon by the term "fire," we must not think that we are referring to what is *τοῦτο*, but rather to what is *τὸ τοιοῦτον*.

But just how does the description *τὸ τοιοῦτον* satisfy the conditions of a *πιστός καὶ βέβαιος λόγος* in a way in which the description *τοῦτο* does not? Because *τοῦτο* describes a thing as being an entity in its own right, a permanent subject which, while possibly undergoing various modifications, yet retains its identity. And nothing in the phenomenal world is entitled to such status. The description *τὸ τοιοῦτον*, on the other hand, merely describes its referent as being an *attribute* of some-

(100d8) one that is also called "ignorant" (105c; cf. 100d3-4). If Plato's usage of "safe" here is at all a clue to his usage of this notion in our passage, then the "safest" answer is *less* philosophically sophisticated than the answer that has "some degree of safety," a conclusion quite the reverse of Lee's position.

thing *else*. Thus Plato's justification for the reference of "fire," etc., to phenomena is the new logical role that he assigns to those terms: they are to be viewed as picking out a recurrent attribute of something else. In other words, these terms are to be construed as logically (though not grammatically) *adjectival*. And this is precisely what the πιστός καὶ βέβαιος λόγος is: the construction of our nominal references to phenomena as adjectival descriptions of some basic, permanent subject worthy of that status. This subject is the receptacle, for only *it* can be designated as τοῦτο.

It should be apparent that this interpretation of the text shows Plato as introducing (or using) a quasi-technical sense of the expressions τοῦτο and τόδε and τὸ τοιοῦτον. The first two denote what is an ontological or logical subject, the last denotes what is an ontological or logical attribute. Now the explicitly technical use that Aristotle makes of these expressions and similar others corresponds to the use Plato is giving them. Aristotle uses these terms ubiquitously in his logic and metaphysics (τόδε τι or some variant and τοιόνδε or some variant) to make precisely this distinction. Thus already in the *Categories* (3b10–23) Aristotle uses them to distinguish primary substance from secondary substance: the former τόδε τι σημαίνει, whereas the latter μᾶλλον ποῖον τι σημαίνει, and this corresponds to his view that primary substance is not, whereas secondary substance is (in relevant instances) "said of a subject." The point is made in the *Sophistici Elenchi* (178b37–38) that "man," since it refers to a κοινόν, is not τόδε τι, ἀλλὰ τοιόνδε. "Coriscus" refers to a τόδε τι, and it is clear that there, as in the *Categories*, the distinction is valid because Coriscus, unlike man, is a basic subject. In *Metaphysics* Z-13 (1039a1–2) none of the "common predicates" indicate a τόδε τι, but a τοιόνδε. This is no doubt due to the fact that anything that can be predicated of a plurality cannot itself be a *basic* subject. In Z-8 (1033b22–25) Aristotle uses the terms in this technical sense, not indeed to distinguish here what he called primary and secondary substance, but to provide an analysis of what he had called primary substance. Here it is the εἶδος which, though it is itself not an individual, is necessary to the individuality of particular things. This εἶδος is τὸ τοιόνδε and its presence in the individual allows us to call the latter now not simply τόδε τι but τόδε τοιόνδε, i.e., an individual basic subject qualified in a particular way, making it the individual it is.

Thus it appears that Plato's use of τοῦτο, τόδε, and τὸ τοιοῦτον is the direct ancestor of Aristotle's admittedly technical use of such locutions. Whether or not Plato was the first to put these terms to such

use,⁴⁹ he certainly fixes their currency as technical, and prepares them for employment in Aristotle's logic and metaphysics.⁵⁰

UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND

⁴⁹ Simplicius (*In de caelo*, 294.23–295.26) quotes Aristotle (*Περὶ Δημοκρίτου*) as attributing to Democritus a term that may well be *τὸδε* as a name for his “substances” (besides *ὄν* and *ναστόν*).

⁵⁰ I wish to thank especially Professor G. E. L. Owen for his suggestions and encouragement. Thanks are also due to Professors John M. Cooper and Stanford Cashdollar for discussion of various points. I alone am responsible for the defects that remain.

TWO CASES OF ΑΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ: *AG.* 612 AND
THEODORIDAS *AP* XIII.21

STAFFAN FOGELMARK

AESCHYLUS' *Agamemnon* has received much attention from scholars and commentators in this century, and not without good reason: apart from its importance as a great work of art, and the central position which it holds among extant Greek tragedies, it also offers a wealth of interpretative problems.

One of the most puzzling passages is found in Clytemnestra's last appearance on stage before the entrance of Agamemnon. For almost thirty lines she displays an exuberant joy at the prospect of seeing her husband again after so many years, and she is very careful to state that she has been faithful to him all the time — which, of course, is all pretense. Toward the end of her speech she says (ll. 611–612):

οὐδ' οἶδα τέρψιν οὐδ' ἐπίφογον φάτιν
ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ βαφάς.

What is meant by the expression χαλκοῦ βαφαί? To take the last word first, βαφή has been interpreted in two ways. Some scholars have taken it as referring to the “*dipping, i.e., dyeing, of bronze*”;¹ “Nicht minder unverständlich als die Kunst das Erz / zu färben ist verbot’nen Umgangs Reiz für mich”;² “L’art de *patiner le bronze* (cf. H. Lechat, dans le *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 1891, p. 474 suiv.) était sans doute considéré comme un secret de métier.”³ The idea that the coloring of bronze was an old artistic secret seems to go back to Welcker: “Da nun die Künstler bey den Griechen den Schülern das Feinste nicht immer zu sagen pflegten (καὶ γὰρ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τεχνῖται ἀποκρύπτονται πως τὰ ἐπικαιριώτατα, ἧς ἕκαστος ἔχει τέχνης, Xenoph.

¹ Verrall, *The “Agamemnon” of Aeschylus*, London 1889, ad loc.

² *Griechische Tragödien übersetzt von Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf: V, Aischylos, Agamemnon*⁶, Berlin 1916, p. 72.

³ Mazon, *Eschyle*, II, Paris 1925, p. 32 n. 2. A similar opinion has been expressed by Blomfield and Enger, among others. The only recent commentator to favor “coloring of bronze” as the meaning is Rose, *A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus* (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde, n.s. LXIV:2), Amsterdam 1958, p. 48.

Oecon. c. 15,11), so ist wahrscheinlich, dass gerade eine Sache wie die Erzfärbung unter diese Geheimnisse gehörte.”⁴ Unfortunately there is no such process as the coloring of bronze. Nor has the scholiast interpreted the phrase in this way. His words ὥσπερ οὐκ οἶδα τὰς βαφὰς τοῦ σιδήρου, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡδονὴν ἐτέρου ἀνδρός have formed the basis for the other interpretation of χαλκοῦ βαφαί, namely, that Clytemnestra is describing not the coloring of bronze but its tempering.⁵ In the main this interpretation is correct, but it has led to new difficulties about the proper meaning of the phrase χαλκοῦ βαφαί. At present two different opinions can be said to prevail: some scholars think that bronze as well as iron was tempered by the Greeks, others that the word bronze here stands for iron.⁶ As regards the first opinion, it is obvious that the art of tempering bronze was no more known to the Greeks than it is to us, and that the ancient evidence quoted by modern scholars in support of it has been misunderstood.⁷ Consequently the second interpretation has won favor with recent scholars interested in this problem; Thomson, for example, states that “there can be little doubt, therefore, that, as the Scholiast observed, bronze is used here as a poetical substitute for iron.”⁸ Fraenkel, after a long and erudite discussion, arrives at the same conclusion, though with some reservations: “Here again . . . the brevity of the allusion to something which was perfectly familiar to the ancient audience makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the modern reader to understand it exactly.”⁹

⁴ *Nachtrag zu der Schrift über die Aeschylische Trilogie*, Frankfurt am Main 1826, p. 42 n. 6.

⁵ For the phrase cf. Soph. *Ajax* 651 and Stanford, *Sophocles, Ajax*, London 1963, ad loc.

⁶ Denniston and Page seem to take a stand somewhere in between (*Aeschylus, Agamemnon*, Oxford 1957, ad loc.); cf. also Werner, *Aischylos, Tragödien und Fragmente*, Munich 1959, p. 690.

⁷ For this misunderstanding see Thomson, *The Oresteia of Aeschylus*, Amsterdam and Prague 1966, ad loc.; Fraenkel, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon*, II, Oxford 1950, ad loc.; Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, Leipzig 1875-87, IV:1, p. 334 n. 1.

⁸ Thomson (above, n. 7), ad loc. His reference to Pindar's use of πολίος in connection with χαλκός is not quite correct, since one cannot take for granted that the adjective has the same value in Pindar as it has in Homer. On the contrary, it is impossible to say anything certain about πολίος χαλκός in Pindar unless all the occurrences of πολίος are taken into consideration and related to the entire color vocabulary of Pindar; when that is done πολίος turns out to be a color word, in which the metaphorical value is predominant; cf. Fogelmark, *Studies in Pindar with Particular Reference to Paean VI and Nemean VII*, Lund 1972, pp. 34-35.

⁹ Fraenkel (above, n. 7), ad loc.

But to interpret the phrase in this way is to miss its point completely. Aeschylus has certainly not meant χαλκός to be understood as a poetical substitute for iron. On the contrary, he means every word he says, that is, "the tempering of bronze"; and he also knows that this is something quite impossible. The expression is therefore a good example of what is generally called an ἀδύνατον. When Clytemnestra says that she knows no more of pleasure from any other man or of censorious rumors¹⁰ than she does of tempering bronze, it is obvious that she wishes to stress her faithfulness to her husband: for if there were such a process as the tempering of bronze (or if she meant the tempering of iron, which was indeed well known) she would be more or less admitting infidelity.¹¹ On the contrary, she is very careful to emphasize that she has been absolutely faithful to Agamemnon all the time: γυναῖκα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὖροι μολῶν / οἷανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα / ἐσθλὴν ἐκείνῳ πολεμίαν τοῖς δύσφροσιν, / καὶ τᾶλλ' ὁμοίαν πάντα, σημαντήριον / οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν ἐν μήκει χρόνου (ll. 606-610),¹² and so to demonstrate her complete innocence she refers to χαλκοῦ βαφαί, an ἀδύνατον: "To speak of unfaithfulness on my part is as silly as to speak of the tempering of bronze" (that is, they are both something impossible). Like so many other expressions in Aeschylus this is absolutely clear, but at the same time very subtle, since it can be understood in two different ways by two different categories of hearers. In order to stress her pretended innocence Clytemnestra might wish to imply to the

¹⁰ ἐπίφογος φάτις can be understood only in this way. To take it to mean "I know nothing of pleasure given nor blame bestowed from any other man . . ." is hardly possible (Rose [above, n. 3], ad loc.); Fraenkel's discussion of the problem is convincing; cf. also Thomson, "Simplex Ordo," *CQ* n.s. XV:2 (1965) 165.

¹¹ The chivalrous and idyllic idea that "the tempering of metal was a mechanic process, known to a class of mean craftsmen, and to few or none beyond it, — a mystery of low-born men — the last thing therefore which a delicately nurtured princess could be expected to know" (Campbell, "Notes on the Agamemnon of Aeschylus," *AJP* 1 [1880] 434-435) is both anachronistic and unrealistic: certainly Clytemnestra did not know the minutiae of the process, but she lived in a rather primitive society and would have known that iron was tempered (a very simple process at that!) and bronze was not. The same can be said about the remark by Rose (above, n. 3), ad loc.: "Klytaimnestra, if she had the curiosity to find out, could have asked the nearest blacksmith." In our society a lady is not supposed to know anything at all about the tempering of metal, but we can rest assured that Clytemnestra knew not only how to use a weapon but also how it came into being.

¹² As to σημαντήριον, one is inclined to support Denniston and Page against Fraenkel.

chorus that she is so utterly simple and incompetent that for a simile she happens by chance to use an expression that is best described by the German term *Kontamination*:¹³ so little does she know about metallurgy that she thinks that bronze can be tempered as well as iron, while of the actual art of tempering metal she pretends to know nothing at all. On the other hand, the audience in the theater knows that she is anything but innocent and faithful, and it also knows about her plans, and that she is a determined and intelligent woman. And so it is likely to interpret the reference to χαλκοῦ βαφαί as an expression consciously chosen to demonstrate the utter impossibility of any guilt on Clytemnestra's part — in other words, just as the tempering of bronze is obvious to everyone as an ἀδύνατον, so is the very idea of her infidelity or that there might be any cause for censorious rumors.¹⁴ This interpretation does not rule out the possibility of taking the reference to χαλκοῦ βαφαί as a hint of the murder that is to take place later on in the play; if a dipping of bronze is ever to occur it will be a dipping not in water but in blood.¹⁵

It is a surprise to find that this interpretation, which is not new, has not found favor with any of the most influential and thorough of the recent commentators on the *Agamemnon*.¹⁶ In the nineteenth century Blümner, though not an Aeschylean scholar, had the good sense to see the matter clearly: "Ich meine, dass βαφαί hier wirklich 'Löschung' bedeutet, aber eben in dem Sinne, dass diese beim Kupfer als etwas nicht mögliches, nicht existirendes bezeichnet wird. Klytaemnestra will sagen, sie kenne die τέρψις καὶ ἐπίψογος φάτις ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρός ebenso wenig als eine Stählung des Kupfers."¹⁷ A similar explanation

¹³ The term is used in this paper in a somewhat wider sense than usual in that it refers not only to syntactical constructions (*Konstruktionsmischung*), but also to concepts — that is, where a verb or a noun has been removed from a perfectly sound and normal sentence to a foreign context where it makes little or no sense at all, as it is improperly used. For the term see Löfstedt, "Kontamination," *Syntactica* 2 (Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, X:2), Lund 1933, pp. 154ff; Leumann and Hofmann, *Lateinische Grammatik*⁵ (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, II:2), 1928, p. 33.

¹⁴ An interesting but faulty interpretation is proposed by Karsten: "ut aes non imbibit colorem vel humorem, sed intemperatum manet, ita se praedicat omni incestu puram" (*Aeschyli Agamemnon*, Utrecht 1855, p. 198).

¹⁵ Thomson (above, n. 7), ad loc.; Fraenkel (above, n. 7), ad loc.; Werner, (above, n. 6), p. 690; Karsten (above, n. 14), p. 197; ultimately the idea goes back to Hermann.

¹⁶ Rose and Thomson do not even mention the possibility; Fraenkel, who does mention it but rejects it out of hand, seems to have concentrated on the actual term ἀδύνατον rather than on the way it works.

had been suggested a few years before by Wecklein, who also realized that an ἀδύνατον was intended, although in fact he took it to mean *Eisenfärberei*.¹⁸ In its capacity of ἀδύνατον the phrase is quite normal, for the most common type of ἀδύνατον is a *Kontamination*.¹⁹

In Theodoridas *AP* XIII.21 we are faced with a more interesting and intriguing problem to which no satisfactory solution has yet been found. The text of the poem is given according to Beckby:²⁰

Μνασάλκεος τὸ σᾶμα τῷ Πλαταΐδᾳ
 τῷ ᾠεργοποιῷ·
 ἃ Μῶσα δ' αὐτῷ τᾷς Σιμωνίδᾳ πλάτας
 ἧς ἀποσπάρραγμα·
 κενά τε κλαγγὰν κάπιλακυθίστρια
 διθυραμβοχάνα·
 τέθνακε, μὴ βάλωμες· εἰ δέ κε ζόεν,
 τύμπανόν κ' ἐφύση.²¹

¹⁷ Blümner (above, n. 7), p. 334; he also suggested that the text should be emended to read ἡ χαλκὸς βαφάς. This would mean a simplification of the psychology: Clytemnestra's false pretense to innocence, as well as to ignorance in matters of metallurgy, would be nonexistent, and the ἀδύνατον would convey only one meaning.

¹⁸ "Die einfache und natürliche Erklärung dieser Worte ist folgende: Klytaemnestra will offenbar ein ἀδύνατον beschreiben; ein solches ist die Betrachtung des Eisens als eines Gegenstandes der Färberei; nur Wolle, nicht Eisen kommt zum Färber" (*Studien zu Aeschylus*, Berlin 1872, p. 113).

¹⁹ Soph. *Ajax* 666–667 — τοιγὰρ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰσόμμεσθα μὲν θεοῖς / εἵκειν, μαθησόμεσθα δ' Ἀτρείδας σέβειν — can perhaps be said to be a case of a religious ἀδύνατον. As will be shown below, not every case of ἀδύνατον describes impossible actions; very often they are examples of foolish things that can be done but never are, and the easiest way to formulate such a phrase is by means of *Kontamination*, as in the speech of Ajax. For the interpretation of *Ajax* 666f, see Knox, "The *Ajax* of Sophocles," *HSCP* 65 (1961) 16; Kitto, *Form and Meaning in Drama*, London 1956, pp. 189–194.

²⁰ *Anthologia Graeca*, Munich 1957–58, IV, p. 160.

²¹ The text of Gow and Page (*Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965, I, p. 194) is only slightly different in that they keep πλάτας in l. 3 instead of Salmasius' πλάτας and print ll. 5–6 *inter cruces*; in l. 7 they prefer another word division: εἰ δέ κ' ἔζοεν. The meter is the iambic trimeter followed by ithyphallics. Beckby's translation is as follows:

Dies ist Mnasalkes' Denkmal, des plattäischen
 Elegiendichters;
 jedoch vom Ruder des Simonides war sein
 Dichten nur ein Splitter;
 ein hohles Tönen war's, ein parfümierter Prunk,
 Dithyrambenwortschwall.
 Er starb; ich werfe nicht nach ihm; doch lebte er,
 wär er Paukenschläger.

The poem is a *Spottepigramm* on the death of Mnasalces, in which Theodoridas ridicules his opponent for his allegedly bombastic style:²² "His Muse was a fragment torn from Simonides' page, loud-voiced but empty, a bombastic spout of dithyrambs."²³ The almost comical idiosyncrasy of Mnasalces' style is effectively evoked in the long words ἐπιλακυθίστρια and διθυραμβοχάνα.²⁴ As to the words that follow there is no problem at all: τέθνακε, μὴ βάλωμες. But what is meant by the final sentence of the epigram: εἰ δέ κε ζόεν, / τύμπανόν κ' ἐφύση? It is obvious that the verb φυσᾶν can be used only in connection with wind instruments, a category to which the τύμπανον does not belong.²⁵ In order to remove this problem Hecker suggested that ἔκρουσεν should be read instead of ἐφύση.²⁶ Other solutions have been proposed. Jacobs explained it "is dicitur, qui tantum spiritum fundit, ut tibi tympanum exaudire videaris."²⁷ Paton's translation does not differ much from that of Jacobs; "But if he were alive, he would be blowing as loud as a drum beats."²⁸ Seelbach suspends judgment by saying that "Theodoridas verspottet Mnasalces, indem er ihn parodiert (cf. den kühnen und dunklen Ausdruck τύμπανόν κ' ἐφύση . . .)" but seems to

²² One is bound to agree with Gow and Page when they say that "it seems plain, despite τέθνακε in 7, that the lines must have been written in the lifetime of their subject, and that the attack is serious, not playful, though nothing in the surviving epigrams of Mnasalces warrants it" (II, p. 546).

²³ Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, London 1916-18, V, p. 15.

²⁴ "Declaiming in a hollow voice, as though speaking into a λήκυθος" (LSJ, s.v. ληκυθίζω) and a "funnel of dithyrambs" (LSJ, s.v.). The noun λήκυθος even came to mean "rhetorical bombast," as is obvious from Pliny *Ep.* I.2.4 and Cic. *Att.* I.14.3. Its suitability for comic purposes is remembered by everyone who has read Aristophanes' *Ranae*, although the primary meaning of the word is dominant there. (The curious fact that both πλάτα and ἐπιλακυθίστρια appear in Theodoridas *AP* XIII.21 might perhaps seem to be a reminiscence of *Ran.* 1207f, but is probably no more than a mere coincidence.) For further references see Gow and Page (above, n. 21), II, p. 547; Seelbach, *Die Epigramme des Mnasalces von Sikyon und des Theodoridas von Syrakus* (Klassisch-Philologische Studien, 28), Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 117f, 121ff.

²⁵ For the verb φυσᾶν in connection with flutists see Ath. 8.337f, Ar. *Av.* 859, *Ach.* 868; in Eur. *IT* 303 a shellfish is used as a trumpet: κόχλους φυσῶν; cf. Theoc. XXII.77, κόχλου φυσηθέντος, and XIX.3, χέρ' ἐφύση, on which Gow remarks: "Apparently blew upon his hand, the acc. as of wind instruments" (*Theocritus*³, Cambridge 1952, II, p. 362). The verb also has an important metaphorical value: "magnum spirare, puff one up, (pass.) to be puffed up" (LSJ, s.v.).

²⁶ *Commentationis criticae de anth. Gr., pars prior*, Leyden 1852, p. 13.

²⁷ *Animadversiones in epigrammata anthologiae Graecae*, Leipzig 1799, II:1, p. 126 (in *Anthologia Graeca ex rec. Brunckii*, Leipzig 1794-1814).

²⁸ Paton (above, n. 23).

favor Jacobs's explanation.²⁹ Olivieri takes the sentence in another way when he translates it "se vivesse sonerebbe il tamburo," with the comment "Ritengo che l'espressione equivalga al nostro: suonarsi la grancassa, farsi réclame."³⁰ Maas, on the other hand, introduced a new outlook by suggesting that τύμπανον be understood as an instrument of punishment and the phrase as equivalent to ἀπετυμπανίζομεν ἂν αὐτόν.³¹ This idea has been taken up by Gow and Page, who strongly favor the interpretation of τύμπανον as an instrument of torture; with some reservation they suggest that the peculiar expression might mean "he would stink of the block, i.e., be ready for execution."³² The most recent commentator to give his verdict is Buffière, who reasons along the same line as Gow and Page, believing that one should "retenir l'idée de châtiment à coups de 'tambour'"; this idea is to be improved, however, by a pun: "l'homme aimait tant le bruit vain, qu'il se serait emparé du τύμπανον de son supplice pour souffler dedans (comme dans une flûte)."³³ Beckby, who does not claim to have solved the puzzle, translates "Doch lebte er, wär er Paukenschläger" with the comment: "Paukenschläger: eigentl. Paukenbläser; ungeklärt."³⁴

But the solution of the problem is, as so often, very simple: "to blow the drum" is an excellent example of ἀδύνατον. We have seen that Theodoridas has represented his opponent Mnasalces as the most vulgar and unaccomplished of artists, a man prone to bombast and noise; as a musician and composer he was a catastrophe; "but now he is dead; let us not cast stones at him; but if he were alive, he would (even) try to blow the tympanum," meaning that as a musician he was so incompetent and so utterly lacking in taste that he would even have tried the impossible.³⁵ And a drum is obviously a highly appropriate

²⁹ Seelbach (above, n. 24), p. 117; "Möglicherweise ist Jacobs' etwas gekünstelte Erklärung richtig" (p. 123).

³⁰ *Epigrammatisti greci della Magna Grecia e della Sicilia* (Collana di Studi Greci, 18) Naples 1949, pp. 201-202.

³¹ "Zu einigen hellenistischen Spottepigrammen," *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 15 (1938) 80-81; Seelbach (above, n. 24) does not share the enthusiasm of Gow and Page ("... which would be excellent sense ..."): "Aber wenn man hier an jenes zur Folterung und Hinrichtung gebrauchte Werkzeug, das τύμπανον genannt wurde, denkt, wird die Verbindung τύμπανον φυσᾶν ganz unverständlich" (p. 123).

³² Gow and Page (above, n. 21), II, pp. 547-548.

³³ *Anthologie grecque*, XII, Paris 1970, pp. 159-160.

³⁴ Beckby (above, n. 20), IV, pp. 161, 524.

³⁵ The imperfect is likely to have a conative force although the verb φυσᾶν has no such connotation per se; in several cases of ἀδύνατον the connotation of trial and attempted action is evident ("you are trying to ..."), e.g., τράγον

image to depict the bombast of a poet: one can almost imagine Mnasalces puffing up his cheeks and blowing upon the drum in a vain effort to make it sound, so ludicrous a poet was he.³⁶ Not even the largest flute can compare with the drum in making noise; and it might be useful to recall here a fragment of Sophocles (Pearson 768): *φυσᾶ γὰρ οὐ σμικροῖσιν αὐλίσκοις ἔτι / ἀλλ' ἀγρίαις φύσαισι φορβειᾶς ἄτερ*. "That Sophocles compared a violent utterance to an inartistic performance by a flute-player appears to be certain," says Pearson (ad loc.), and points out that "Longinus," in his quotation (*De sublimitate*, 3.2) from Sophocles, adapted the phrase "to suit his particular contention, that bombast is especially contemptible if coming from an inferior artist."³⁷ And "to blow the tympanum" is an offshoot of the same idea, albeit ridiculously exaggerated. The fact that this interpretation involves a mixing of different instruments and musical sounds is surely no problem, since *αὐλὸν σάλπιγγι συγκρίνεις* was proverbial (Diogenian. I.15; Apostol. IV.32), and *τύμπανον φυσᾶν* is in its capacity of *ἀδύνατον* an acceptable expression *eo ipso*.³⁸

To judge the validity of this interpretation it is perhaps useful to have a cursory look at some other cases of *ἀδύνατον* in Greek literature, since it is obvious from the two passages discussed in this paper that an *ἀδύνατον* does not always have the same function.³⁹ The following

ἀμέλγεις, σίδηρον πλεῖν διδάσκεις,λέοντα ξυρᾶς, ἐξ ἄμμου σχοινίον πλέκεις, εἰς οὐρανὸν τοξεύεις, ἐλαίῳ πῦρ σβεννύεις, νεβρῶ ἱππεύεις, κύματα μετρεῖ etc.

³⁶ "There was something ridiculous to the Athenians in the puffed-out cheeks of the flute-player (Plut. *Alcib.* 2) . . ." (Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles*, Cambridge 1917, III, p. 20).

³⁷ As used here by Sophocles *φυσᾶν* seems to be equal to the expression "to blow one's own trumpet" (cf. Olivieri's interpretation of *τύμπανον φυσᾶν*); for further references see Pearson (above, n. 36), ad loc.

³⁸ In Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, I-II, Göttingen 1839-51.

³⁹ The following examples of *ἀδύνατον* occur in various Greek authors, but for the sake of simplicity most references will be given to their occurrences in *Paroemiographi* (*Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*). It should be noted that some of the examples belong to more than one category. Examples with a religious connotation will be excluded in that they mention things that are forbidden, e.g., *ἀκίνητα κινεῖν* (cf. LSJ), *ἄρρητα ῥήματα* (cf. Apostol. XVII.3). A related phenomenon is the use of *ἀδύνατον* in taking oaths, where this device is particularly suitable for emphasizing the importance of the oath, as has been pointed out to me by Professor Bernard Knox; a good example is Hdt. I.165, where the oath of the Phocaeans is mentioned: *πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι* [sc. *κατάρρησι*] *καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ᾤμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φώκαιαν ἥξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι*. This oath became proverbial (*Φωκαέων ἀρά*: Zen. VI.35) and is echoed in Horace's sixteenth epode: *sed iuremus in haec: simul imis saxa*

rough classification will indicate the various categories of ἀδύνατον that may be found in Greek literature.

Expressions that deny the possible fulfillment of a statement

ὅταν Νίβας κοκκύση, τόθ' ἔξεις πλοῦτον (Apostol. XIII.13)
 τὸ πέλαγος πρότερον οἷσει ἄμπελον (Diogenian. VIII.44; Apostol. XVII.7)
 πρότερον χελώνη παραδραμεῖται δασύποδα (Diogenian. VII.57; Apostol. XIV.88)⁴⁰
 πρὶν κε δύο ἐχῖνοι εἰς φιλίαν ἔλθητον, ὁ μὲν ἐκ πελάγους, ὁ δ' ἐκ χέρσου (Diogenian, VII.61; Apostol. XIV.93)
 πρὶν κε λύκος ὄιν ποιμάνῃ (Diogenian. VII.63; Apostol. XIV.96; cf. Ar. Pax 1076)
 ἀστραπή ἐκ πυελίου (Diogenian. III.7; Apostol. IV.13)
 καρκίνος λαγῶν αἶρεϊ (Diogenian. V.96; Greg. Cyr. II.88; L II.39; M III.93; Apostol. IX.27)⁴¹

Concepts that are unlikely because of apparently self-contradictory features

λευκοὶ κόρακες (AP XI.417, 436)
 πτηναὶ χελῶναι (AP XI.436; Luc. Epigr. 43)
 λευκὰς κορώνας (Macar. V.52)

Actions that are impossible owing to a reversal of the usual situation

ἄμαξα τὸν βοῦν ἔλκει (Diogenian. III.30; Greg. Cyr. I.77; M I.74; Apostol. II.55, VIII.41)
 ὁ νεβρὸς τὸν λέοντα (Diogenian. ii III.42)

Exaggerated ἀδύνατα

αἵμασι κλαίειν (Diogenian. I.32; Zen. I.34)⁴²
 Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς (Diogenian. II.69; Apostol. III.83)
 δῆλόν ἐστι καὶ τυφλῷ (Macar. III.29)
 ὄνος λυρίζων (Macar. VI.39)

renarint / vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas"; (Il. 25–26; in the lines that follow Horace seems to copy an ἀδύνατον from E. Med. I. 410 [ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί]: "quando / Padus Matina laverit cacumina"). Another oath expressed by means of ἀδύνατον is Il. I.233ff.

⁴⁰ Cf. Apostol. V.82.

⁴¹ Cf. Greg. Cyr. L II.40.

⁴² Cf. αἷματι ἰδρωσεν (Phot. Epist. 138). For another type of exaggerated ἀδύνατον, see Demetr. Eloc. 127: τὸ δὲ 'χρυσῷ χρυσότερα' τὸ Σαπφικὸν ἐν ὑπερβολῇ λέγεται καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀδυνάτως, πλὴν αὐτῷ γε τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ χάριν ἔχει, οὐ ψυχρότητα.

Actions that are more or less possible but would be untimely and unnecessary

λύχνον ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ἄπτειν (Diogenian. VI.27; Greg. Cypr. M IV.30; Apostol. X.95)

ἐν θέρει τὴν χλαῖναν κατατρίβεις (Diogenian. IV.51; Greg. Cypr. M III.18; Apostol. VII.19)

ἡλίῳ φῶς δανίζεις (Apostol. VIII.51)

ἰχθὺν νήχεσθαι διδάσκεις (Apostol. IX.19)

φαλακρὸς κτένα, εὐνοῦχος παλλακὴν, κωφὸς αὐλητὴν, κάτοπτρον ὁ τυφλός, ὁ ἡπειρώτης κώπην, ὁ κυβερνήτης ἄροτρον (App. Prov. V.12)

ἐχίνος ἐν χεიმῶνι (Macar. IV.24)⁴³

Foolish things that can be done but never are — often labor in vain

πυγμαῖα ἀκροθίνια κολοσσῶ ἐφαρμόζεις (Apostol. XV.12)⁴⁴

σπόγγῳ πάτταλον κρούειν (Mantiss. Prov. II.88)

εἰς τετρυπημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν (Mantiss. Prov. I.48)⁴⁵

κοσκίνῳ ἀντλεῖς (Macar. V.20)⁴⁶

νεκρὸν μυρίζεις (Apostol. XII.3)

ἄμμον μετρεῖν (Diogenian. II.27; Zen. I.80; Macar. I.96; Apostol. II.71; Mantiss. Prov. I.13)

κυνὶ δίδως ἄχυρα, ὄνῳ δ' ὀστέα (Apostol. X.31)⁴⁷

ἱματίῳ πῦρ περιστέλλεις (Apostol. IX.4)

παρὰ ποταμὸν φρέαρ ὀρύττειν (Macar. VI.100; Mantiss. Prov. II.51)

ἐπὶ τέγει λήϊον (Macar. IV.4)⁴⁸

βατράχοις οἶνοχοεῖς (Macar. II.75; Apostol. IV.78)

εὖ εἰπεῖν θάλατταν (App. Prov. II.89)

εἰς κόπρον θυμῖς (App. Prov. II.22)

γύργαθον φυσᾶς (App. Prov. I.89)⁴⁹

ἀνέμους θηρᾶν ἐν δικτύοις (Diogenian. II.28)⁵⁰

Αἰθίοπα σμήχεις (Diogenian. I.45)⁵¹

τὸν γὰρ γυναικὸς ὄρκον εἰς οἶνον γράφε (Apostol. XVII.20e)⁵²

⁴³ N.B. the explanation ad loc.

⁴⁴ Cf. the somewhat similar English expression "to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear."

⁴⁵ Cf. ἐκ τετρημένης κύλικος πιεῖν (Mantiss. Prov. I.50).

⁴⁶ Cf. Apostol. IX.91.

⁴⁷ Cf. n. 19 above.

⁴⁸ Cf. *quid arenae semina mandas?* (Ov. Her. V.115).

⁴⁹ Cf. δίκτυον φυσᾶν, λήκυθον φυσᾶν, Jacobs (note 27, above).

⁵⁰ Cf. Zen. III.17; Diogenian. IV.29; Apostol. III.13; cf. ὄρνις ζητεῖς, ἀνέμους θηρεύσεις (Apostol. XII.100).

⁵¹ Explained by Diogenian as ὁμοῖα, χύτραν ποικίλλεις, ὥδον τίλλεις; cf. Zen. I.46; Macar. I.62; Apostol. I.71; cf. Greg. Cypr. L III.36; cf. εἰς ὕδωρ γράφεις καὶ Αἰθίοπα λευκαίνεις καὶ κατὰ θαλάττης σπείρεις καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (Sch. Ar. V. 279); cf. εἰς τέφραν γράφειν (Apostol. VI.73; Mantiss. Prov. I.62, 74).

⁵² Cf. Apostol. VI.56.

αἰγιαλῷ λαλεῖς (Diogenian. I.37; Zen. I.38; Apostol. I.84)
 λίθῳ λαλεῖς (*Arr. Prov.* III.68)
 νεκρῷ μῦθον εἰς οὓς ἔλεγεν (Apostol. XI.100; Diogenian. VI.82)
 χαμαὶ ἀντλεῖς, πλύνθον πλύνεις, φακὸν κόπτεις (Zen. VI.48; Diogenian. VII.50; Plut. *Prov.* I.82; Greg. Cypr. III.39; *Arr. Prov.* IV.58; Apostol. XIV.34; cf. Theoc. XVI.62 Gow)
 πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζει (Greg. Cypr. M IV.100; Apostol. XIV.100)⁵³
 εἰς πῦρ ξαίνων καὶ λίθον ἔψων καὶ σπείρων τὰς πέτρας (Aristid. ὑπὲρ τ. τεττάρ. Jebb 377/Dindorf 230)⁵⁴
 δελφίνα πρὸς τοῦραῖον δεῖς (Zen. III.38; Diogenian. IV.37; Apostol. V.91)
 γερᾶνδρον μεταφυτεύειν (Zen. III.1; Diogenian. III.77; Apostol. V.32)
 ἐλαίῳ πῦρ σβεννύεις (Plut. *Prov.* 22)
 ἀνδριάντι πρεσβεύσωμεν (Apostol. XI.95)
 ἀνδριάντα γαργαλίζεις (Apostol. II.84; Plut. *Prov.* 45)
 τῷ βοῦ τὸν λαγῷ κυνηγετεῖν (Plut. *De Tranq. Animi* 12)
 νεβρῷ ἱππεύεις (*Mantiss. Prov.* II.30; Diogenian. VI.81)
 τὸν Ὑλλαν κραυγάζεις (Apostol. XVII.9; Diogenian. VIII.33; Zen. VI.21)⁵⁵
 ὕδραν τέμνεις (Zen. VI.26; Diogenian. VIII.61; Greg. Cypr. III.92; Macar. VIII.25, 70)⁵⁶
 παρὰ χελώνης ὄστρακον (Macar. VI.88; Apostol. XIII.99d)
 λύκος περὶ φρέαρ χορεύει (Apostol. X.86; Greg. Cypr. M IV.15)

Actions that are more or less impossible and/or actions in vain

τράγον ἀμέλγεις (Plut. *Prov.* 20; Apostol. XVII.32a)
 σίδηρον πλεῖν διδάσκεις (Plut. *Prov.* 14; Apostol. XV.46)
 λέοντα ξυρᾶς (Diogenian. VI.25; Macar. V.50)⁵⁷

⁵³ Cf. Pi. P. II.94. For another example of ἀδύνατον in Pindar, see N. I.24–25, which is a passage that has confused many scholars: λέλογχε δὲ μεμφομένοις ἐσλοὺς ὕδωρ καπνῷ φέρειν / ἀντίον. The most recent scholar to misinterpret it is Lasky, “A note on Pindar *Nemean* 1.24–25,” *CPh* 68 (1973) 219. He thinks that “the point which the poet is trying to make is not at all that smoke/envy is to be quelled or extinguished, but that it is to be kept from bursting into flame.” The point is, however, that fire, but not smoke can be quenched with water; to try to quench the smoke by pouring water on it is simply an ἀδύνατον: the suggestion is that it is a futile task to try to disparage good men.

⁵⁴ Cf. Ar. V. 280; [Pl.] *Eryx*. 405b; Zen. V.27; Diogenian. VII.67; Apostol. IX.45; XIV.20; *Arr. Prov.* III.67; Macar. V.63; Apostol. VIII.26, X.68.

⁵⁵ Cf. Apostol. VIII.34.

⁵⁶ Cf. Apostol. XVII.49.

⁵⁷ Cf.λέοντα ξυρᾶν, ἣ κολωνὸν κυρίττειν (Apostol. X.54);λέοντα ξηρᾶς (*Mantiss. Prov.* I.97).

ὃν κείρεις (Macar. VIII.65)
 ὄνου πόκους ζητεῖς (Zen. V.38)⁵⁸
 ἀμνία θερίζειν (Diogenian. I.69; Apostol. II.65)
 λύκου πτερὰ ζητεῖς (Apostol. X.80; Diogenian. VI.4; Macar. V.68; Greg. Cypr. II.96; M IV.29)
 ἀνέμους γεωργεῖς (Zen. I.99; Diogenian. I.88; Greg. Cypr. I.51; Apostol. III.3; Greg. Cypr. M I.49; V I.33; *Mantiss. Prov.* I.17)⁵⁹
 νεφέλας ξαίνεις (Greg. Cypr. III.13; Diogenian. VI.83; Apostol. XII.5)
 γάλα ὀρνίθων⁶⁰ (Diogenian. III.92; Greg. Cypr. M IV.71; Macar. VI.49; Apostol. V.19; VI.48e)
 ἐξ ἄμμου σχοινίον πλέκεις (Greg. Cypr. M III.46; Macar. III.97; Aesop. *Prov.* 10; Apostol. VII.50)⁶¹
 ἄχειρ νιφθῆναι βούλεται (Apostol. IV.66)
 οὐκοῦν ἐν ψυχρῷ τούτους ἐψήσωμεν (Apostol. XIII.63)
 ἄσκον δέρεις (Greg. Cypr. I.69; Diogenian. III.3; Apostol. IV.9; Macar. II.51; Greg. Cypr. M I.66)⁶²
 ἐκδεδαρμένον δέρεις (Apostol. VI.87)⁶³
 ἐκ πόντου κόνιν κυλίνδεις (*App. Prov.* II.42)
 ἀκόνην σιτίσεις (Greg. Cypr. V I.26; Macar. I.68)
 εἰς οὐρανὸν τοξεύει (Macar. III.60; Apostol. VI.71)
 εἰς οὐρανὸν πτύεις (Apostol. VI.57)
 λίθοις τὸν Ἥλιον βάλλει (*Mantiss. Prov.* I.99)
 κύματα μετρεῖ (Macar. V.43; cf. Theoc. XVI.60 Gow)
 αἰθέρα νήνεμον ἐρέσσεις / αἰρήσεις (Macar. I.51; Zen. I.39; Diogenian. I.38; Apostol. I.58)⁶⁴
 ποταμὸς θάλατταν ἐρίζει (Apostol. XIV.64; Greg. Cypr. M IV.86; Diogenian. VII.74)⁶⁵

It is not the aim of this paper to present a thorough analysis and classification of the ἀδύνατον concept as used by the Greeks, but some major features stand out very clearly and will be noted briefly. A glance at the examples given above shows that not all of them fit the proper definition of ἀδύνατον, since some of the sentences do, in fact, describe

⁵⁸ Cf. Diogenian. IV.85, VI.99; *App. Prov.* II.29; Macar. III.56, VI.35; Apostol. VII.79, XII.89.

⁵⁹ Cf. Apostol. XII.100.

⁶⁰ Sc. ζητεῖς, φέρεις, ἀμέλξεις.

⁶¹ Cf. the English expression "to make bricks without straw."

⁶² Cf. ἀέρα δέρειν (Eust. 1215.50).

⁶³ Cf. Apostol. X.29.

⁶⁴ Cf. Diogenian. IV.29.

⁶⁵ For more examples of ἀδύνατον see Πλουτάρχου ἐκλογή περὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων, which is a collection comprising 52 proverbs, some of which are identical or hardly ἀδύνατα at all (*Paroemiographi*, I, pp. 343-348). For an English poem rich in ἀδύνατα see Auden's "One Evening."

actions that are possible; nevertheless, their performance is unlikely in the extreme and would be understood as an indication of sheer stupidity.⁶⁶ For the same reason it is obvious that the classification attempted above is liable to inevitable shortcomings. For example, the action ἀνδριάντα γαργαλίζειν "to tickle a statue," is at the same time possible and impossible, since one can perform the actual tickling, but one can never fulfill the purpose of the action, as the statue cannot experience the tickling. And much the same can be said about other phrases, such as τύμπανον φυσᾶν. Another striking feature is the flexibility of the ἀδύνατον. Its application can imply a strong denial (as in *Ag.* 612), or actions performed in the wrong order; it can be equivalent to "never"; sometimes it underlines an exaggerated statement; sometimes it stands for actions that are more or less possible though untimely and unnecessary, and for foolish things that could be done but never are; it is also frequently used to describe impossible actions and labors in vain;⁶⁷ and, finally, it can also be used (as in Theodoridas) to ridicule another person. It is obvious then that there are many different types of ἀδύνατον, and that they can be used for different purposes and can have various functions. Moreover, they seem to have been used quite frequently: the very limited choice presented in this paper consists only of such expressions as have become proverbial and were presumably in common usage, and it is obvious from the *testimonia* given by Leutsch and Schneidewin that there is a wealth of similar expressions in various Greek authors from Homer on.

If we were to point to some stylistic feature that seems to be common to most cases of ἀδύνατον, this would be the occurrence of *Kontamination*. In most cases a verb or a noun (but not both) is simply removed from its normal context: examples are τράγον ἀμέλγεις,λέοντα ξυρᾶς,ὕν κείρεις, ἀνέμους γεωργεῖς, νεφέλας ξαίνεις, ἐξ ἄμμου σχοινίον πλέκεις, and the like. In some cases, however, the *Kontamination* can be said to be double. Such an instance is τύμπανον φυσᾶν, since both the verb and the noun originally belong in another context — τύμπανον ἀράσσειν, αὐλοὺς φυσᾶν.⁶⁸ Taken in this way "to blow the tympanum" is no more mysterious than, for example, ἀρότρῳ ἀκοντίζειν (*Diogenian.* III.33; *Greg. Cypr.* I.88; *Macar.* II.46; *Greg. Cypr.* M I.84; *Apostol.* IV.8),⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Cf., e.g., *Apostol.* XIV.20 (πέτρας εἴψεις: πέτρας σπείρεις), which is explained: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων.

⁶⁷ The actual interpretation and explanation given by the paroemiographers is not always what we expect; see, e.g., *App. Prov.* II.22, 29, 31.

⁶⁸ It is sometimes difficult to tell where a *Kontamination* is double and where it is not; there are many cases somewhere in between, e.g., ἀκόνην σιτίζεις.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Plut. De Tranq. Animi* 12.

particularly as it has been shown above that *τύμπανον φυσᾶν* would not be a unique example of the mixing of musical instruments.⁷⁰

In their discussion of the Theodoridas passage Gow and Page think that "the context calls for something to contrast with *μὴ βάλωμες* — the man is dead, so let us spare him; if he were alive he would meet his deserts."⁷¹ It is always a little dangerous to assume that the ancient audience, or the ancient readers, would have the same expectations as we do in matters of style and content, but accepting that their argument is valid we might perhaps understand such a contrast to be implied by the *ἀδύνατον*: "if he were alive, he would (even) try to blow the tympanum" (that is, he was such a bad musician that we should really have pity on him). But we must not forget that the poem is a *Spottepi-gramm*, the purpose of which is to make Mnasalces appear ridiculous, and the main significance of the last lines is obviously not intended as a contrast to *μὴ βάλωμες*, but as the climax of the entire epigram. This also explains why the phrase *μὴ βάλωμες* is included at all, and why it occupies this specific place in the poem. *Μὴ βάλωμες* should not be taken too seriously — Theodoridas only pretends to calm down, and these words have the function of a diminuendo, only to make the final attack the more vehement. For having ridiculed the poor Mnasalces, Theodoridas seems to have second thoughts — "now he is dead; let us not cast stones at him" — but then he cannot refrain from dealing him a last blow — "but if he were alive, he would try to blow the tympanum" — implying that he was so tasteless and noisy a musician that he did not even know the limits of his own art. Is it possible to imagine a scene more ridiculous than that of Mnasalces trying to blow the drum?

Neither of the two cases of *ἀδύνατον* discussed in this paper can be found elsewhere in Greek literature. It seems safe to say that they were not proverbial like the other examples given above, but this does not exclude them from being classified as examples of *ἀδύνατον*. On the contrary, it may be said that the impact of an *ἀδύνατον* must be the greatest the very first time it is heard, and all the more so if it is not only

⁷⁰ For the *ἀδύνατον*-apodosis in unreal condition (*τύμπανόν κ' ἐφύση*), cf. *καὶ βαίτυλον ἂν κατέπιες* (Apostol. IX.24). For an *ἀδύνατον* with the same purpose as that of Theodoridas, but expressed by means of the potential optative, see the well-known line in Ar. *Pax* 699, in which Simonides is mocked for his avarice: *κέρδους ἑκατὶ κἂν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοι*.

⁷¹ Gow and Page (above, n. 21), II, p. 547; Buffière is of the same opinion (p. 159), and Maas (above, n. 31) says that "Was man erwartet, ist die Strafe die den Dichter Mnasalces treffen würde, wenn er noch lebte" (pp. 80–81).

unique but also perfectly adapted to a unique context and a unique situation. Such cases are *Ag.* 612 and Theodoridas *AP* XIII.21.⁷²

CENTER FOR HELLENIC STUDIES

⁷² To my satisfaction I find that an interpretation rather similar to the one propounded here has in fact been suggested before: "wenn er aber lebte würde er das Tympanon — blasen" (Gabathuler, *Hellenistische Epigramme auf Dichter*, Leipzig 1937, p. 92). Gabathuler does not comment on the expression, and it is not quite clear whether he has grasped the meaning, not only in its abstract sense (which most scholars have appreciated, realizing that the expression somehow turns on Mnasalces' poetical incompetence), but also from a concrete and realistic point of view; the stress he lays on *blasen* seems to imply that he has.

There is a monograph dealing with ἀδύνατον in antiquity: Dutoit, *Le thème de l'adynaton dans la poésie antique* (Collection d'études anciennes), Paris 1936. (I am grateful to Professor Bernhard Kytzler of Freie Universität, Berlin, who showed me this work after I had completed my article.) Dutoit devotes one-third of his study to the occurrence of this phenomenon in Greek literature, and his approach to the problem differs from mine: he concentrates on the ἀδύνατον as a motif rather than as a feature of style and language. Accordingly he presents only a few cases of *Kontamination*, and his list of ἀδύνατα bears little resemblance to that given above. Dutoit takes the ἀδύνατον in a straightforward way; for example, he refers to only three passages in Pindar, all of which are quite normal in their phrasing and are free from the complication of *Kontamination*, namely *O.* II.98-100 ("Since sand escapes all counting, who could ever count the joys that he has given to others"); XIII.45-46 ("I should not know how to tell accurately the number of the pebbles of the sea"); and XI.19-20 ("Neither the tawny fox nor the roaring lion shall change his inborn nature"). It is rather the motif that has attracted Dutoit's interest. His book is very useful, however, and in the conclusion on p. 50 he makes a statement which coincides very much with what I have tried to demonstrate in the examples listed above: "Les emplois du thème . . . sont fort variés." The most recent contribution in the field of ἀδύνατον seems to be that of Rowe, "The *Adynaton* as a Stylistic Device," *AJP* 86 (1965) 387-396. (I am grateful to Professor Bernard Knox for reading my manuscript and referring me to this article.) Rowe lists only a few well-known examples and is more interested in the proper definition of the ἀδύνατον, particularly as a rhetorical term. When he speaks of it as a stylistic device he sees it as a terminological and historical problem rather than as a linguistic one. He stresses quite correctly the proverbial background of the ἀδύνατον and is also right in pointing out the difficulty in seeking "unity of form for the proverb" (p. 395). His statement, however, that "Dutoit's work contains a complete and accurate list of *adynata* in Greek and Latin poetry" (p. 387 n. 1) is obviously incorrect.

AMOR AND CUPID

ANTONIE WLOSOK

I

OVID begins the fourth book of his *Fasti* with an invocation to the Roman goddess Venus: he calls her "Mother of the Twin Loves":

Alma, fave, dixi, geminorum mater Amorum.

The peculiarity of this invocation lies not in the use of the plural but in the reference to two love-gods who are said to be sons of Venus.¹

The phrase *gemiini Amores* becomes the more striking if we compare some other passages of Ovid that are often cited as parallels to our line. There are three so-called parallels: one verse in the *Amores* (3,15,1) and two in the *Heroides* (7,59; 16,203). But in all three verses we find Ovid speaking only of *mater Amorum*, and in this phrase there is nothing unusual. It refers to the current vision of a crowd of little Eros-boys² forming Aphrodite's entourage. Roman poets used this image long before Ovid. Observe, for example, the *Veneres Cupidinesque* of Catullus (3,1; 13,12) or the *Mater saeva Cupidinum* of Horace C. 1,19, 1; 4,1,5).³

In the verse of *Fasti* 4, however, the number of the Loves is precisely two, since *gemiini Amores* means twins or, if we take the term *gemiini* in a wider sense, a pair of brothers. We should note that the name Amor need not be taken as the proper name of both. We learn from Dioskuri,

¹ This article was given as a lecture in February 1973 at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and at Yale University in March 1973. The first part is based on my study "Gemini Amores," which I contributed to the Festschrift in honor of E. Burck. For the rest I am indebted particularly to the dissertation of H. Fliedner (see below, n. 45). I am grateful to the Institute for Advanced Study for the generous hospitality I enjoyed during my stay as a visiting member in 1972-73 and to the National Endowment for the Humanities, which made my visit possible. I wish to thank Professor G. W. Bowersock, who undertook to revise the English version of my manuscript.

² See Waser, *RE* 6 (1907) 494, 497, 509ff; A. Rumpf, *RAC* 6 (1966) 312ff, with additional bibliography.

³ See further Prop. 3,1,11: *et mecum in curru parvi vectantur Amores*; cf. 4,1,138.

who appear in Latin literature as Castores⁴ (instead of Castor and Pollux), that the name Amor can belong only to one of the brothers, with the second name omitted.

We have therefore to ask how the uncommon epithet of Venus came into our line, and what Ovid could have meant by speaking of *gemini Amores*. This question has, as far as I can see, never been seriously raised,⁵ and, in the most recent commentary on Ovid's *Fasti*, that of Franz Bömer,⁶ it has been entirely omitted. This fact is surprising since there is relatively ample evidence for the concept of a pair of love-gods supposed to be sons of Aphrodite or Venus.

The existing sources fall into four groups, two of which belong predominantly or exclusively to the Greek world and two to the Roman. I should mention that I have excluded all passages referring to two natures of the love-god — they occur chiefly in tragedy beginning with Euripides — and I have also excluded passages that refer to two kinds of love, a distinction well known from Plato's *Symposium*.

To begin with, there is the pair *Eros and Anteros*, who are relatively well-attested figures. The most complete collection of literary evidence is given in an article by R. V. Merrill, whose interest is in the survival of the ancient pair in Renaissance Platonism.⁷ In addition, archaeological evidence may be found in A. Greifenhagen's book, *Griechische Erosen* (1957). According to Pausanias,⁸ at Elis and in Athens altars were dedicated to both gods; at Elis they were worshiped together in the old gymnasium. Apparently they were regarded as closely cooperating deities, although ancient explanations differ.⁹ According to modern

⁴ Pliny *HN* 7,86; 10,121; Tac. *Hist.* 2,24,2.

⁵ I know of only one exception: E. Zinn has, as I learnt from W. Stroh (Heidelberg), discussed the *gemini Amores* in lectures on Ovid at Tübingen. I am delighted to state that we were in full agreement when we talked about the problem later.

⁶ P. Ovidius Naso, *Die Fasten* II (1958) 204, in spite of J. G. Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid* III (1929) 163, who refers to the Julian coin (see text below).

⁷ "Eros und Anteros," in *Speculum* 19 (1944) 265ff. See F. Lasserre, *La figure d'Éros dans la poésie grecque* (1946) 98ff; A. S. Pease, *Commentary on Cicero, De Natura Deorum* (1958) 1127. For Renaissance art, see G. de Tervarent, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965) 205ff. Compare E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (1939) 126ff (chap. 4; "Blind Cupid") and *Problems in Titian* (1969) 131ff and n. 53, further bibliography. I owe this reference to W. Sauerländer.

⁸ 6, 23, 3 (Elis, cf. 6,23,5); 1,30,1 (Athens). A cult of Eros and Anteros is also attested for Pergamon; see P. Jacobsthal, *AM* 33 (1908) 382:3,5-6; compare E. Ohlmutz, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* (1940) 228f.

⁹ See Merrill (above, n. 7). For the anonymous epigrams Antholog. Palat. 16,251 and 16,252 see my article "Gemini Amores" (above, n. 1) 517 n. 15.

scholars Anteros is usually taken as love-retained and explained as a complementary figure to Eros, through which the love partner was given a patron.¹⁰

Such an explanation is supported by the connotation of the word *ἀντρεως* in philosophical contexts like Plato's *Phaedrus*,¹¹ where it occurs for the first time. The word is similarly understood by the later Greek lexicographers as Pollux or "Suidas."¹²

Greifenhagen has demonstrated that the two gods were repeatedly represented on Greek vases as a closely related pair of love-gods or as "pendants." The oldest example is a lekythos of the Pan-painter from about 470 B.C., representing two corresponding and distinct Eros figures: one has long, fair hair and the other short black hair.¹³ They are, however, not identified. Greifenhagen infers the names Eros and Anteros from a legendary account in Eunapius,¹⁴ which contains a description of the physical attributes of both gods and which agrees exactly with the figures on the vase.

Thus, theoretically, the Ovidian phrase *gemiui Amores* might be applied to this pair of Erotes, the more so since Anteros was regarded as a son of Aphrodite.¹⁵ Yet there is one reason which, in my opinion, precludes explaining Ovid's twin-loves as Eros and Anteros. Anteros does not play any part in Roman literature or in Roman thought and life. In Latin prose literature there are only three instances of evidently Hellenic origin, while in poetry and in historical writings Anteros is totally absent.

He is first mentioned in Cicero's third book *On the Nature of the Gods* (59,60) in a list of homonymous deities with different genealogies, and this is clearly based on Greek mythology. Anteros is mentioned here as a *third* Cupid, and registered as a son of Venus and Mars.¹⁶ The next reference occurs in the scholia to Vergil's *Aeneid*, the first in the so-called Servius Danielis commenting on the poet's words¹⁷

¹⁰ Cf. Wernicke, *RE* I (1894) 2354; H. von Geisau, *Kl. Pauly* I (1964) 369.

¹¹ 255d; Plut. *Alc.* 4,4; Olymp. *In Alc.* 12,9f; 87,7f; 215,22; 220,3; 227,1 Westerink; further Ach. Tat. 1,9,6 Vilborg. Cf. the myth in Themist. *Or.* 24.

¹² Pollux *Onomasticon* 3,72 Bethe; *Suda* I 233 Adler.

¹³ Greifenhagen, figs. 1-4 and p. 40. For further instances see figs. 30, 32, 34, 47. Cf. Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* I 504; Wernicke (above, n. 10) 2355; de Tervarent (above, n. 7). Literary evidence, e.g., Pausanias 6,23,5; *IG XII* 5, no. 917 (Tenos) = Degrassi, *ILLRP* I (1957) no. 403.

¹⁴ *Vita Jambl.* 26.

¹⁵ Cic. *Nat. D.* 3,59 and 60; cf. Pease (above, n. 7), ad loc.

¹⁶ 3,60: *Cupido primus Mercurio et Diana prima natus dicitur, secundus Mercurio et Venere secunda, tertius qui idem est Anteros Marte et Venere tertia.*

¹⁷ *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4,33: . . . alii "Ερωτα et Αντρεωτα dicunt.

"sweet sons of Venus" — *dulcis natos Veneris* (*Aen.* 4,33) — which, in this context, simply refer to the children springing from the love of Dido and Aeneas. To some interpreters, however, that obviously appeared too banal. There were, as we learn from our scholion, others who referred to Eros and Anteros, by taking the expression *natos Veneris* metaphorically and making it refer to Dido's longing for "love returned," or simply being loved by Aeneas. This explanation is far-fetched, based on abstract concepts of Eros and Anteros.

The second passage asks to which *numen* or deity Dido appealed in her anguish of love. The commentator writes: "She invokes Anteros, the contrary to Cupid, whose function is to resolve love, or who at least cares for slighted love."¹⁸ As we see, the scholiast has no clear idea of the nature or function of Anteros. Anteros appears to him either as the redeemer of love, who counteracts the love-god's powers and thus acts against him, or as an avenger of Dido's spurned passion — thus personifying the wrath of the offended Eros. In either case he is far from being the brotherly partner of Eros, acting in conjunction with him.

To sum up: all three passages concerning Anteros in Latin literature have in common a somewhat sophisticated character and bear the stamp of subtle erudition. Anteros appears only with his Greek name. Apparently he never became a Roman divinity, and there is no trace of any relation to Venus or the Roman love-god.

We turn now to the second group. Older Greek literature provides a famous authority for two love-gods in relation to Aphrodite. It is Hesiod, in the *Theogony* (201f).¹⁹ There he gives the newborn goddess, on her way to the Olympic gathering, two attendants — Eros and Himeros. This conception appears in a more developed stage on early vase decorations. We have, for instance, a black-figured pinax from the Acropolis on which a woman, clearly Aphrodite, is represented and holds in her arms two little boys, as yet unwinged.²⁰ The children are identified by inscriptions as Eros and Himeros. They have changed from their appearance in Hesiod: they have apparently become sons of Aphrodite. They did not, however, remain her only sons: Aeschylus²¹

¹⁸ *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4,520f: Ἀντέρωτα invocat contrarium Cupidini, qui amores resolvit, aut certe cui curae est iniquus amor.

¹⁹ τῇ δ' Ἔρος ὠμάρτησε καὶ Ἱμερος ἔσπετο καλὸς
γεινομένη τὰ πρῶτα θεῶν τ' ἐς φύλον ἰούσῃ.

²⁰ Greifenhagen, p. 39 and fig. 29.

²¹ *Supp.* 1038f. For further evidence see G. Herzog-Hauser, *RE* 22 (1953) 1178ff; A. Rumpf, *RAC* 6 (1966) 313. Note a red-figured vase with Pothos and Himeros (Beazley, *ARV* 1312,2).

added Pothos, while an inscription on a vase tells us of Hedylogos;²² Pindar and Bacchylides had called Aphrodite simply "mother of the Loves."²³ Thus the Hesiodic pair of independent love-gods accompanying Aphrodite was transformed into a plurality of Erotes.²⁴ There is no probability that Ovid, in his Roman-colored *Fasti*, should have undertaken to revive and develop an ancient Greek conception.

The specific Greek sources are accordingly exhausted. We are now faced with a series of documents from the Roman world. Let us first consider a somewhat disparate group consisting of three documents, which have in common the appearance of two Cupids surrounding the Roman goddess Venus, especially that Venus who was worshiped and propagated by the Julian family. This group, with regard to the cult-title of Venus, may be designated *Venus Erucina* or *Genetrix* with two attendants.

The first document is a coin belonging to the early Julian mintings. It shows Venus, claimed as the divine ancestress of the house. In one series the goddess is represented with a scepter in a chariot which is drawn by two winged Cupids.²⁵ This issue dates from the year 94 B.C. (according to Sydenham) or 90 (according to Grueber). The mint master is L. Julius Caesar. The coin type of Venus in a *biga* with two Cupids was preceded by similar types²⁶ of the goddess in a *biga* but without Cupids. Hence one might assume that the two Cupids were not merely suggested by the *biga*.

The second document is a passage from the *Odes* of Horace. It is the famous second ode of the first book — *iam satis terris* — probably written after the year 30 B.C.²⁷ Horace, looking for gods who might bring help to sinful Rome, nominated among other deities Venus, calling her "the smiling goddess from Mount Erice" with two Erotes fluttering about her: *Erucina ridens / quam Iocus circum volat et Cupido* (1,2,33f). Here we have two Erotes who even have names. For our purposes, however, the duality is of greater importance than the chosen

²² Beazley, *ARV* 1328,92: Hedylogos together with Pothos drawing the chariot of Aphrodite.

²³ Pindar fr. 122,4 Snell; Bacch. 9,73. Cf. A. Furtwängler, in Roscher, I 1348; Waser (above, n. 2) 494.

²⁴ Cf. T. G. Rosenmeyer, *Phoenix* 5 (1951) 11-22.

²⁵ H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (1910), nos. 1405-1434; E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (1952), no. 593.

²⁶ A survey of the representations of Venus on Julian coins is given by C. Koch, *RE* 8A (1955) 858f.

²⁷ See R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace, Odes Book I* (1970) 17.

names. They could have been invented ad hoc by the poet for an existing pair of love-gods. This must be true in the case of Iocus; the choice of Cupido is almost self-evident, since Cupido, as I shall point out later, is the oldest and most solemn name of the love-god. Iocus does not occur elsewhere as the name of an Eros; but personification of this kind has many antecedents like the personification of abstracts in Plautus, or like Paidia, who appears on a Greek vase as playmate of Himeros, pushing him on a swing.²⁸ In our text of Horace the name Iocus seems to be introduced by poetic inspiration as a result of Venus' epithet *ridens*, which corresponds to the Homeric *φιλομειδής*.²⁹

It has been supposed³⁰ that Horace had in mind a certain cult-image of Venus Erucina in Rome, representing the goddess surrounded by two Cupids. The Julian coin on which the Julian Venus is combined with two Cupids seems to support this assertion. It would provide a good solution to our problem, but it is still not clear that we can adopt it.

To the Venus Erucina³¹ in Rome two temples were dedicated: one in *Capitolio* and one *extra Portam Collinam*. The capitol temple was chiefly a national sanctuary of the divine ancestress, the *Aeneadum genetrix*, from whom success and victory were granted according to Roman belief. The Erucine temple outside the Colline Gate was more popular since this Venus was the proper love-goddess of Rome, whose cult was modeled on that of Aphrodite of Mount Erice and still frequented by courtesans. Iocus and Cupid would have been fitting satellites for this particular goddess.

Facts seem to favor the assumption that Horace had in mind precisely the Colline Venus and refers to her cult-image, or at least, some famous representation. We must not forget, however, that the existence of such a representation would have to be wholly based on the Horatian evidence and this is a rather weak base. We cannot be certain whether Horace, in our passage refers to either of the cult-goddesses, or whether he was thinking of a real cult-image. There is far more probability that the poet in his ode freely evokes the divine figure equipping her with a few characteristic features without copying a concrete model. In other words, we ought not to infer from the poet the existence of a cult-image, and

²⁸ Evidence in Nisbet and Hubbard (above, n. 27) ad loc.

²⁹ Cf. my book *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis* (1967) 11, 95ff.

³⁰ G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1904) 16f; cf. Koch (above, n. 26) 856.

³¹ For details see R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Venus* (1954) 248ff, 254ff; Koch (above, n. 26) 852ff.

if we give up the cult-image we lose the concrete source for the *gemini Amores*. What remains is still sufficient: the Roman and Julian Venus with two winged companions — in this restricted version a parallel to the Julian coin.

The third document of the group under discussion is archaeological and controversial. This is the so-called Relief of Tellus from the Augustan Altar of Peace, representing a motherly figure with two little boys, in some respects a classical version of the archaic type of Mother-Aphrodite from the Acropolis (considered in connection with Hesiod). In recent studies this Augustan mother-deity has been repeatedly interpreted as Venus Genetrix: first by Erika Simon³² and then by K. Galinsky³³ and his pupil Anne Booth.³⁴ If this explanation is right, and I am inclined to believe that it is to a certain degree,³⁵ the relief would be the third piece of evidence of a Roman Venus with two sons offering a specific Augustan illustration of the Ovidian phrase *geminorum mater Amorum*. Now our disparate group of Roman evidence is exhausted. However, our problem is still unresolved. For the question of who could be meant by Ovid's *gemini Amores* is still open. And the question of how the two Cupids came into being is only transferred from Ovid to the pre-Ovidian evidence. Moreover, it is possible to explain the two Cupids in each of the three documents separately through an iconographic tradition, in which the duality is merely accidental. For example, the cupid-drawn *biga* of the Julian coin has predecessors in Greek vase painting of the fourth century B.C., where Aphrodite occurs on chariots drawn by two Erotes.³⁶ Further, the two winged companions that Horace gave his Erucina might be explained as decorative accessories that occur in many older representations of Aphrodite between two symmetrically posed Erotes.³⁷ And finally, the two children of the deity of the Altar of Peace can take their place in the iconographic tradition of Terra Mater or the Kourotrophos.³⁸

Derivations of this kind would in each case make the duality of the Erotes accidental. The consensus of our documents would matter little for a Roman conception of a pair of Cupids, and consequently it would be without relevance to Ovid.

³² *Die Geburt der Aphrodite* (1959) 102.

³³ *AJA* 70 (1966) 223ff, esp. 229ff.

³⁴ *Latomus* 25 (1966) 873-879.

³⁵ If we can admit ambiguity in pictorial documents of the Augustan age.

³⁶ See above, n. 24.

³⁷ Examples in R. Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain* (Coll. Latom. 99, 1969) 129f; Simon (above, n. 32) 29 and fig. 27.

³⁸ K. Galinsky (above, n. 33) 227f.

The matter would be different if we found as a possible point of common reference, a distinct couple of love-gods. Such a couple indeed existed in Rome. It was *Amor and Cupid*.

Let us open this part of the argument with two verses of the pre-neoteric poet Laevius, who belongs to the beginning of the first century B.C. His verses, part of a larger fragment (fr. 22 Morel), are the first of a figure-shaped poem, a so-called *technopaignion*, the lines of which reproduce the shape of two wings. (The Hellenistic model is the still extant "Wings of Eros" by Simias.)

The speaker in the fragment of Laevius is a woman, who calls herself *opsecula ac ministra* of Venus, portraying herself as an obedient maid³⁹ of the goddess whom she invokes with the words:

Venus, <o> amoris altrix,
genetrix cupiditatis.

To both epithets, *amoris altrix* and *genetrix cupiditatis*, in this word-conjunction, we have no parallels.⁴⁰ The underlying conceptions, however, are common enough. Venus is thought to be the author or, metaphorically, the "mother" of love; and love is considered under two aspects, namely affection and desire.⁴¹ These, however, correspond to two names of the love-god and son of Venus which were current in Rome: Amor and Cupid.

The invocation to the goddess in our fragment, therefore, may be explained also in a mythological sense⁴² or, at least, with a mythological background: Venus as the mother of two manifestations of the love-god, or just as mother of Amor and Cupid.

This interpretation assumes a distinction not only between the concepts *amor* and *cupido* or *cupiditas*, but also between Amor and Cupid as divine figures. This is, in fact, quite possible.

We have a fragment of the comic poet Afranius (fr. 23f Ribbeck), who predates Laevius. It runs: *alius est Amor, | alius Cupido*. It is cited by Servius (*Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4,194) to prove the different meanings of Amor and Cupid.

³⁹ The speaker may have been a priestess of Venus or a temple-courtesan or merely a woman in love. Cf. L. Alfonsi, *Poetae novi* (1945) 168 and *Hermes* 86 (1958) 358; A. Traglia, *Poetae novi* (1962) 125.

⁴⁰ They correspond to attributes like *κουροτόφος* (Hom. *Epigr.* 12; Nikod. *Anth. Graec.* 6,138) and *ἔρωτοτρόφος* (Orph. *Arg.* 478,868) given to Aphrodite.

⁴¹ For this meaning of the abstracts *amor* and *cupido*, see text below.

⁴² R. Reitzenstein, *Philologus* 65 (1906) 157, had a correct intuition when he called the verses "ein Gedicht an Venus, die Mutter des Eros und Pothos."

A similar confrontation of the two gods is made by the elder Cato, in a fragment preserved for us in Isidore's work *De differentiis verborum*. Cato's words are: *Aliud est Amor, longe aliud est Cupido; accessit ilico alter, ubi alter recessit; alter bonus, alter malus* (Or. fr. 71 Malcovati).

Here the confrontation is combined with a moral valuation, especially a devaluation of Cupid, which agrees with the meaning of the abstracts and is in harmony with the philosophical and chiefly Stoic doctrine of the passions.

The influence of this doctrine can be detected in another fragment of Afranius (fr. 221 R.): *amabit sapiens, cupient ceteri*. According to this sentence, Amor represents a motion of the soul, which is also adequate or, at least, not detrimental to the wise man, while Cupid represents an excessive, insensible passion. *Cupidinem veteres immoderatum amorem dicebant*, says Servius in the passage mentioned above (on *Aen.* 4,194).

In the Afranius fragment the differentiation of meaning is connected with a distinction between Amor and Cupid as divine personalities. Such a distinction can be found previously in Plautus, and that is in the earliest period of Latin literature. There are three passages that I should like to discuss here.⁴³

The first provides a further instance of the confrontation of the two love-gods. It is only a short fragment of the first act of the *Bacchides* (20 L.). A man who has fallen deeply in love is asked: *Cupidon tecum saevit ane Amor?* We see that Amor and Cupid could be treated as separate deities who were played off against each other.

⁴³ Two further passages, speaking of *geminus Cupido*, are found in the tragedies of Seneca, *Phaedra* 271f:

diva non miti generata ponto
quam vocat matrem geminus Cupido,

and *Oed.* 498-501:

sollemne Phoebus carmen
infusis humero capillis
cantat et geminus Cupido
concutit taedas,

(at the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne). There is no definite explanation of the expression *geminus Cupido*. Seneca might have meant either the Roman twin Cupid, brother of Amor (or even both, cf. *Phoen.* 128: *Spartam . . . fratre nobilem gemino*), or the double-natured Eros of Greek tragedy (cf. text above). For the *Phaedra* passage the latter explanation is favored by Eur. *Hipp.* 1268ff. In the context of heavenly marriage, however, this does not fit well. Here I wonder whether Seneca even thought of two Erotes, waving torches as we find them, for example, represented on Sarcophagi of the 2d century A.D. (C. Robert *Die antiken Sarcophagreliefs* III (1919) 58ff and figs. 41, 61, 64, 65).

In the next two passages Plautus makes Amor and Cupid act jointly together with Venus.

In the *Mostellaria* (161-164) the lover Philolaches, addressing his mistress as *Venus venusta*, describes the very moment in which the passion of love rushed into him: *quom mihi Amor et Cupido / in pectus perpluit meum*. We see that he feels the united love-gods Venus, Amor, and Cupid acting together like a mighty tempest.

Finally, in the *Curculio* (3) the young Phaedromus tells us he is going *quo Venus Cupidoque imperat / suadetque Amor*.

Here Amor and Cupid are regarded as separate powers who act upon man in different manners. Cupid gives harsh orders (*imperat*), Amor persuades softly (in *suadet* there is to be heard *suavis*). Both belong to Venus. Must we not therefore recognize in Ovid's *gemi Amores* the Roman love-gods Amor and Cupid?

II

In summing up what our explanation of Ovid's twin loves has contributed to the wider question of the mutual relation of Amor and Cupid, we can make the following comments.

The love-god could appear in Rome in two manifestations or figures, designated by the names Amor and Cupid, and distinguished or distinguishable from each other in regard to their nature and activity. The different meanings of the gods as well as of their names correspond to those of the underlying abstracts *amor* and *cupido*. Their mutual relation may be compared with that of affection to desire or lust; and when applied in an erotic sense, they express different aspects of the phenomenon of love, or, we may also say, different conditions and attitudes of lovers.⁴⁴

One question, that of the relation of Amor and Cupid to each other, is thus largely answered. The origin of the double naming, however, remains obscure and we may still wonder why or how this double manifestation of the Roman love-god came about. An answer can be found by means of a very simple and common method, namely examination of the evidence for the love-god in Rome or the occurrence of his names Amor and Cupid in Latin texts. This philological inquiry has already been carried out by a student of mine, Heinrich Fliedner.⁴⁵ Here, in this limited space, I can only give the results.

⁴⁴ See H. Fliedner (below, n. 45).

⁴⁵ "Amor und Cupido: Untersuchungen zum römischen Liebesgott," Diss. Kiel, 1972 (to be published in *Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie*, 1974). The evidence for the following statistics may be found there.

The earliest instances occur in the preliterate times of Rome. They are adscriptions to pictorial representations of Eros. Known to us are, first, a Faliscan stamnos, dated by Beazley to the fourth century B.C. Represented are several mythological figures, all ascertained through adscripted names, among others Ganymede, Jupiter, and, in addition, a winged ephebe with the adscription *cupido*.⁴⁶ The next is a mirror of Praeneste, probably from the first half of the third century B.C. It represents several deities, among them Venus and Cupid, again designated by adscriptions.⁴⁷ The third instance is another mirror of the same origin, dated approximately to the third or second century B.C. It shows Venus on a throne, waving imperiously to a winged youth, and this scene is glossed with the words *Cupido asta*.⁴⁸

The result: in all three cases the name of the love-god is Cupid, it corresponds to the Greek name Eros, and it occurs in pre- or non-literary sources.

The first literary evidence is in a fragment from a comedy of Naevius that belongs to the end of the third century B.C. Here, too, the god has the name Cupid.⁴⁹

Amor, as the name of the love-god, occurs first in the comedies of Plautus, and there very frequently and with full acceptance of the Hellenistic vision of Eros. On the whole, the name Amor is used twenty-three times in Plautus, while we find Cupid only nine times. Hence it is fairly clear that Amor in Plautus is the preferred name of the god. And this is true for the whole of Latin poetry down to late antiquity.

Statistics of the occurrence of the two names in Latin poetry down to the second century A.D. show on an average a proportion of three to one (Amor to Cupid), and several authors have a far more unequal distribution. This is the case for all elegiac poets. I give the figures:

	Amor	Cupid
Tibullus	19 ×	3 ×
Propertius	36 ×	1 ×
Ovid <i>Ars</i>	16 ×	2 ×
<i>Remedia</i>	13 ×	3 ×
<i>Amores</i>	24 ×	12 ×
<i>Heroides</i>	15 ×	2 ×

⁴⁶ CIL I² 454 (= XI 6708,13).

⁴⁷ CIL XIV 4096 (= I² 550).

⁴⁸ M. Lejeune, REL 30 (1952) 90f and pl. II, fr. IV, 2 (= Degraffi, ILLRP 1204).

⁴⁹ Naevius Com. fr. 55 R.: *Edepol, Cupido, cum tam pausillus sis, nimis multum vales*.

Horace, however, constitutes an exception. He uses only Cupid and that six times; but this use can and will be explained.

In Latin prose the two names are relatively rare; they do not, for instance, occur in Caesar, Sallust, or Livy at all. In comparison with poetry, there is in general a quite different distribution, the proportion being almost reverse. The predominating name is unequivocally Cupid. On an average, in prose writers down to the third century A.D., the proportion of the frequency of Amor to that of Cupid is 1:4 in contrast to 3:1 in poetry.

Of individual authors it is worth mentioning Cicero and the elder Pliny. In Cicero we find one Amor to sixteen Cupids, the Cupids referring to statues of the god or to his cult or genealogy. Pliny has no Amor, but six Cupids. As in Cicero, Cupid is used for pictorial representations or the numinous activity of the deity.

When we turn to the epigraphic evidence, the distribution of the two names is still more striking. There are thirty inscriptions, six of which have Amor and twenty-four Cupid. The inscriptions with the name Amor are — apart from one uncertain exception — metrical, which means that their use of language belongs to the tradition of poetry. Among the inscriptions with the name Cupid, there are also a few metrical ones. But these are of little interest. Not so the seventeen prose inscriptions: they provide the key to the explanation of this remarkable situation.

In ten inscriptions the name Cupid refers to statues of the god. Seven of these references are connected with cult. In four further inscriptions the name Cupid is ascribed to pictorial representations of the god: to this group belong the three oldest instances previously discussed. In the remaining three inscriptions Cupid is used as a cult-title of the god. Here we may add the evidence of the imperial coinage of Parion. That community, a Roman colony, had in its possession an Eros statue of Praxiteles, which was used in cult and struck on coins in the second century A.D. The coins bear the legend *deo Cupidini* — “to the god Cupid,” an equivalent of the Greek *Ἐρως*.⁵⁰ The same practice is shown by Apuleius in his Platonic writings, where he speaks of the altar of Cupid, mentioning the famous altar of Eros in the Athenian academy.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Examples in Roscher, *Lex.* I 1358, A. Furtwängler; *SNG*, Copenhagen, Mysia no. 291; Aulock, *SNG*, Mysia no. 1338. Cf. P. Wolters, “Der Eros des Praxiteles in Parion,” *Sitz. München* (1913) IV 21-40; S. Mirone, *Rev. Numism.* 24 (1921) 23-37. For Parion, see E. Olshausen, *RE* supp. XII (1970) 982ff esp. 985.

⁵¹ Apul. *De Dogm. Plat.* 1,1: *ex altari quod in Academia Cupidini consecratum est.*

Finally, it should be mentioned that the name Cupid, if used in poetry or poetical prose like the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius,⁵² is frequently employed to designate the solemn name of the love-god; this often occurs in a context concerning worship, sacrifices, and votives to him and to Venus, whose cult-fellow Cupid is in Plautus, Catullus, and Horace. This survey of the occurrence and the use of the two names, abridged as it is, nevertheless proves a clear distribution. On the one hand the name Amor is used to designate the love-god Eros especially as a literary figure. The poetic conceptions of the god, inspired from Hellenistic poetry, as well as the later philosophical speculations,⁵³ based on Platonic ideas, refer to this name. Amor frequently bears the signs of the personification of an abstract idea rather than a concrete divine figure. The name Cupid, on the other hand, means in most cases the love-god as a real being, especially in the sphere of religion and on pictorial representations with reference to cult. Cupid occurs as an almost technical term for the statue and has, moreover, emerged as the cult-title of the god.

These striking facts can be explained only by assuming that Cupid was the older and proper name of the god, attributed to the Hellenic Eros when he was adopted in Latium or Rome together with Aphrodite. Cupid was to be used if the god was spoken of or addressed as a divine *numen*.

As we learn not only from the epigraphic evidence, but also from authors like Apuleius and Servius, this knowledge lived on into late antiquity. So late an author as Servius states: *Latini deum ipsum Cupidinem vocant* — "In Latin language the god himself [as a god] is called Cupid" (on *Aen.* 1,663).

Contrary to Eros in Greece, in Rome there is no evidence that Cupid had an independent cult, being worshiped in a temple dedicated to him or by a special festival. But he was worshiped together with Venus,⁵⁴ whose temple he shared, as for example outside the Colline Gate.⁵⁵ Hence the formula *Venus Cupidoque*, which makes him appear frequently associated with Venus in inscriptions and literary texts which allude to cult.

⁵² It is worthwhile mentioning the use of Cupido in *Met.* 5,22 (cf. 5, 25, and 26), employed for the first time when Psyche discovers the divinity of her unknown husband.

⁵³ For example: Apul. *De Deo Soc.* 16 and Mart. Cap. *Nupt. Merc.* 2,144 (where Cupid has to represent the vulgar Eros).

⁵⁴ Servius. *Aen.* 6,830; cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 804; Catull. 36,3.

⁵⁵ Ovid *Rem.* 549-555.

But a question arises: where does Amor come from? The fact that the name Amor does not occur in the preliterate evidence and that it is chiefly employed for the literary god, suggests that Amor is an additional name, set beside Cupid not before the development of Latin literature or, more correctly, poetry. The new naming of the love-god is obviously a literary creation. We may wonder whether there was any motivation.

If we do not wish to argue on the basis of chance or mere fancy, we cannot help assuming that the current name Cupido had, for some reason, become insufficient. To support this conjecture a superficial comparison of the three terms *cupido*, *eros*, and *amor* will suffice. The Latin word *cupido* does not wholly coincide with the Greek *eros*. *Eros* is the more comprehensive concept, which proved capable of evolution. The phenomenon of love together with the human activity represented by the god was more completely designated by the word *eros* than by *cupido*. In the term *cupido* all that exceeds mere sexual or carnal desire is omitted, including the element of affection or even devotion to the beloved person. However, precisely the devotion of the self or the *animus* to the beloved partner has been recognized as a characteristic feature of the Roman concept of love, as it appears already in Plautus.⁵⁶

Now this aspect, so important for Roman authors, is contained in the word *amor*. *Amor* originally means an elementary affection like that between children and parents. Therefore Cicero, in his tract on friendship, not only derived *amicitia* from *amor*, but made *amor* the basis of friendship that he defined as mutual affection free of any objective.⁵⁷

Hence the introduction⁵⁸ of the name Amor for the love-god could have been motivated by the tendency to express an aspect of the phenomenon of love that was not covered by the word *cupido*, namely the aspect of affection and internal commitment. And, in addition, the word *cupido* had a pejorative meaning, which tended to make love appear as a whole debased. To the Latin dramatists, however, love was, from the beginning, a central and serious theme which became the main subject of the elegiac poets who undertook a revaluation of love under the name and patronage of Amor.

⁵⁶ See P. Flury, *Liebe und Liebenssprache bei Menander, Plautus und Terenz* (1968).

⁵⁷ Cic. *Laelius* or *Amic.* 26: *amor . . . ex quo amicitia nominata est*; 31: *omnis eius [amicitiae] fructus in ipso amore inest*.

⁵⁸ I would prefer to assign the innovation not to Plautus but to an earlier tragic poet.

Our discussion has come to an end. I must stress that I regard the explanation of the introduction of the name *Amor* as only a hypothesis, but I am inclined to take as proven the results on the successive use, the distribution, and the original relation of the two names to each other. The remembrance of the two sons of Venus, Amor and Cupid, has survived antiquity. They occur in full duality in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, and with these verses I conclude.⁵⁹

Manec mîn meister sprichet sô,
daz Amor und Cupîdô
unt der zweier muoter Vênus
den liuten minne gebn alsus,
mit geschôze unt mit fiure.
diu minne ist ungehiure.

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⁵⁹ X 532ff Lachmann.

Manec, my master, says:
that Amor and Cupid,
and the mother of both, Venus,
give love to man
using darts and fire.
That love is vast.

LATIN *ador*, HITTITE *ḫat*- AGAIN:
ADDENDA TO *HSCP* 77 (1973) 187-193

CALVERT WATKINS

I

WE have in Latin *ador* the ancient name (later *far*) of a kind of grain which was dried, and ground, to serve a cultic purpose in the sacrificial ritual. Latin *ador* was *pium*, and not an ordinary foodstuff; in the ritual it served for aspersion and was not eaten per se, and indeed it is curious to note that as far as our texts go, the only Roman to eat *ador* was a mouse (Horace *Sat.* 2.6.89). The set of cultural features, as elements of a structure, is identical with that of Hittite, where ZÍD.DA ZÍZ was dried, and ground, also to serve as a cultic ingredient in a ritual. The dried and ground spelt-meal in Hittite ritual as well served for aspersion: the Hittite verb is (*šer*) *šuhḫai*.

But there is a further optional feature of the Hittite ritual aspersion which links it even more closely with the practice of Roman ritual.

The Roman ritual involves spelt which has been mixed with salt: *mola salsa*. Compare Festus 124.13, *mola etiam uocatur far tostum et sale sparsum quod eo molito hostiae aspergantur*, and Paulus ex Festo 97.22, *immolare est mola, id est farre molito et sale, hostiam perspersam sacrare* (cited on p. 192 of my earlier article).

In KBo XI 14 I 20ff, the ritual of 'Ḫantitaššu (CTH 395.1A), a text which will be discussed also below, we read the following paragraph:

20 *š[e-er-ra-aš-ša-an ZÍD.DA ZÍZ MUN-ya šu-uh-ḫa-i nu kiš-an me-ma-i MJUN-an GIM-an UDU^{BI.A} li-li-pa-an-ti nu ú-id-du ku-u-uš ḫu-u-uk-ma-uš ^dUTU-uš QA-TAM-MA li-li-pa-iš-ki-id-du nu IGI-zi pal-ši ud-da-na-aš EN-aš ^dUTU-i kiš-an ḫu-u-uk-zi*

On it [the smoking cedarwood, oil, and honey] he sprinkles spelt-meal and salt, and speaks as follows: "As sheep lick salt, so may the Sun-God come and lick these conjurations." And for the first time the sacrificer conjures [before] the Storm-God as follows.

The newly published duplicate KUB XLIII 57 1 20'-24' reads

- 20' še-ra-aš-ša-an ZÍD.DA[(ZÍZ MUN-ya šu-uḫ-ḫa-i nu kiš-an)
me-ma-i MUN-an m[(a-aḫ-ḫa-an UDU^{HI.A} li-li-pa-an-ti nu)
22' ú-id-du ku-u-uš ḫ[(u-uk-ma-uš ^aUTU-uš QA-TAM-MA)
li-li-pa-aš-ki-id-du[(nu IGI-zi pal-ši ud-da-na-aš EN-aš)
24' ^aUTU-i me-na-aḫ-ḫa-a[(n-da kiš-an ḫu-u-uk-zi)

The archetype of this text must be Old Hittite, to judge from the parallels, one of which (KBo XX 34 = KUB XXXVI 111 + 57/g, CTH 395.3) shows "ältlicher ductus." The verb form *li-li-pa-an-ti* "(sheep) lick," with 3 pl. *-anti* rather than normal Hittite *-anzi* (assibilated), is cited by Friedrich, *Heth. Wb.*, Erg. 3.22 as "luw." But the text shows no other signs of Luvianisms, which would in any case be wholly unexpected in Old Hittite times, and I am inclined therefore to suspect that *lilipanti* "lick" (IE **leb-* in Eng. *lip*, Lat. *labia*) preserves in a ritual utterance a still unassibilated third person plural form, comparable to the preservation in Latin of the unapocopated third person plural *tremonti* (= *tremunt*) in the Carmen Saliare. As such the utterance "as sheep lick salt" would corroborate the antiquity of the presence of salt in the ritual.

We have in this text the collocation, as ingredients of the ritual, of spelt-meal and salt, ZÍD.DA ZÍZ MUN-ya, which is identical with the collocation in the Roman ritual of *farre molito et sale*. The utilization of both is aspersion: Hittite *šuhḫai* "aspergit," Latin (*hostiae*) *aspergantur*, (*hostiam*) *perspersam* (*sacrare*).

It is thus possible to observe two entirely homologous structures, as models of religious and cultural behavior in two Indo-European-speaking peoples wholly separate in time and space, in the following shape (the key words are given in each language):

Latin	Hittite
<i>ador/far tostum</i>	ZÍD.DA ZÍZ <i>hātan</i>
<i>far molitum</i>	ZÍD.DA <i>mallan</i>
<i>et sale</i>	ZÍD.DA ZÍZ MUN-ya
<i>sparsum</i>	<i>šuhḫai</i>
<i>in sacrificio</i>	SISKUR.SISKUR (KBo XI 14 IV 20)

In two elements of the structure we have not only semantic correspondence, but linguistic correspondence: *ad(or)* = *ḫāt(an)*, *moli(tum)* = *mall(an)*.

I leave to historians of Indo-European religion to decide, by the tenets of the comparative method, whether or not we have in these two

structured sets of cultural behavior the evidence to justify the reconstruction of a common Indo-European ritual practice.

II

The antiquity of the formation of the Latin noun *ador* in Indo-European can be particularly appreciated by comparison with the word for "water." In Hittite *ḫat-* we have an old adjective-verb $*\mathfrak{z}_2ed-$ "DRY," from which is derived a collective $*\mathfrak{z}_2ed-\bar{o}r$, literally something like "dry stuff": whence Latin *ador*. In Sanskrit *u-n-āt-ti* "makes wet" ($*u-n-ed-$) we have a formation with transitive nasal infix (as in Old Irish *ro-n-did* "makes red") from an adjective-verb $*\mathfrak{u}ed-$ "WET"; the English *wet*, O. Eng. *wæt*, is from an old lengthened grade $*\mathfrak{u}ēd-o-$. From this adjective-verb is derived a collective $*\mathfrak{u}ed-\bar{o}r$, literally something like "wet stuff": the common Indo-European word for "water," Hitt. *watar*, etc. The two words $*\mathfrak{z}_2ed-\bar{o}r$ and $*\mathfrak{u}ed-\bar{o}r$ are morphologically identical, phonetically rhyme-forms and semantically antonyms. The two must be coeval; and their formation with the *-r/n-* suffix belongs to the earliest stratum of derivational morphology that we can reach by reconstruction.

III

Dr. Erich Neu in a letter of 17 September, 1973 kindly calls my attention to another occurrence of the Hittite verb *ḫat-* "dry out" in an unpublished fragment: 3 sg. impv. *ḫa-aš-za-du* Bo 2153 Vs.² I 6. In KUB VIII 3 I 12 *na-ap ḫa-a-ti*, cited by me in the earlier study (p. 189), he reads ^{NA}₄ KIŠIB ZÁH^{TI} "destruction of the seal," with ZÁH^{TI} for Akk. *šahluqti* (*šahluqtu* = Hitt. *ḫargaš*), whereas, as he notes, K. K. Riemschneider (per litteras) prefers to read ^{NA}₄ KIŠIB *ḫa-a-ti* "the seal will dry up." ^{NA}₄ KIŠIB instead of *na-ap* is palaeographically preferable, though semantically somewhat less satisfying. This and other passages will be discussed in full by Neu in his forthcoming volume *StBoT* 18, 1974, IV, n. 166.

To the active *ḫi-*conjunction inflexional forms of Hittite *ḫat-* "to dry up" cited on p. 189 should be added one example with middle inflexion, in the same meaning: KBo X 7 + IV 7-8 *nu ÍD-aš^{HI.A}* [(probably nothing missing, to judge from parallel paragraphs)] *ḫa-a-da-an-ta-ri* "the rivers will dry up." See Erich Neu, *StBoT* 5, 1968, 51, who prefers to take *ÍD-aš^{HI.A}* as genitive plural depending on a lost noun in the lacuna.

Like many other Hittite divination texts originally translated from Akkadian, this KI.GUB (a part of the liver) hepatological text, CTH 547, shows a number of characteristic archaic linguistic features, which point to an Old Hittite archetype. Such are the phonetic writing of "god" (Abl.) as *si-ú-na-aš* II 17', 20'; the spelling with scriptio plena of *ta-lu-ú-ga* II 27', *da-lu-ú-ga* II 31'; the "heteroclitic" nom. pl. neut. ending *-a* (in adverbial function) of these forms of the *i*-stem *dalugi-* "long," like *ḫatuga* "terribly" (KBo XVII 78 I 1 etc.) to *i*-stem *ḫatugi-* (Otten-Souček, *StBoT* 8. 95; on the heteroclitic type see provisionally Laroche, *RHA* 28, 1970, 53-54); the form *ne-pi-iš-za* III 31, cf. the same form in Anittas and *ne-e-pi-iš-za* ^dUTU-aš KUB XLIII 23 Rs. 15 (old ductus); form and spelling of *iš-tar-ni-ya pi-e-di* I 20' "medio loco" (cf. Laroche, *BSL* 53, 1958, 175); the proleptic possessive construction LUGAL-*wa-aš* ERÍN^{MEŠ}-ŠU "of the king his army" I 21'; and the thematic nom. pl. comm. *ÍD-aš*^{HI.A} IV 7 from IE *-ōs, like Old Hittite *ga-e-na-aš* = *še-eš* "his inlaws." The former should be added to the catalogue of attested forms of *ÍD* with phonetic complement in my study of the Indo-European word for "river" in *Ériu* vol. 24, 1973, 80-89. The Hittite thematic stem *ḫapaš* is found in juxtapositions like the place name ^{URJU}*ḫa-ra-aš-ḫa-pa-aš* "Eagle River" KBo III 54, 13, and the directive *ḫa-pa-a*.

It is therefore legitimate to regard the middle form *ḫādontari* in this hepatological text as an archaism, older than the *ḫi*-conjugated forms. On the relation between earlier middle and later *ḫi*-conjugation in Hittite see *Indogerm. Gramm.* III/1, ch. 8.

Laroche has stated in his "Éléments d'haruspicine hittite," *RHA* 54, 1952, 19: "Il est vrai qu'une étude détaillée de ces textes inspire aujourd'hui plus de pitié pour les aberrations intellectuelles de l'homme que d'intérêt pour le contenu de la discipline oraculaire." It is to be hoped that these omen texts will receive also the attention they deserve as sources not only for Hittite philology, as in the works of E. Laroche and K. K. Riemschneider, but also for Indo-European linguistics.

IV

In note 5, pp. 191-192, I pointed out that the Hittite reading of ZÍZ "spelt" is unknown; only that the word was an *r/n*-stem, from the phonetic complements *ZÍZ-tar*, gen. *ZÍZ-na-aš*. I suggested that it would be tempting to speculate that the Hittite form might be **ḫatar*, like *ador*, but that no evidence for this existed. Howard Berman kindly

points out to me in a letter of 9 January 1973 two similar Hittite forms, which are both welcome and disconcerting.

There is in fact a Hittite noun *ḫa-at-tar* occurring in a list of grains or similar seed foodstuffs in KBo XI 14 I 6:

(šu-uḫ-ḫi-k)á]n ^dUTU-i IGI-an-da ^{GIŠ}BANSUR-un da-a-i
4 mu-uš-ša-an I NINDA.ERÍN^{MES} da-a-i I-NA NINDA.ERÍN^{MES}-ma-
aš-ša-an še-er NUMUN^{HI.A} ḫu-u-ma-an šu-uḫ-ḫa-i

6 ZÍZ-tar še-ep-pi-it par-ḫu-e-na-eš e-wa-an kar-aš ḫa-at-tar
zi-na-il ku-u-ti-ya-an nu ku-it-ta NUMUN-an ar-ḫa-ya-an
šu-uḫ-ḫa-an

He places a table on the roof facing the sun (in the open air).
There he places one loaf of soldier-bread. On the loaf of
soldier-bread he sprinkles all the grains.

Spelt, wheat (sp.), *parḫuenaš*, barley, wheat (sp.), *ḫattar*,
zinail are heaped up (??). Each grain is sprinkled separately.

(šu-uḫ-ḫi-k)á]n is restored from the newly published duplicate KUB XLIII 57 I 2'. The translation "heaped up" for the elsewhere unattested (?) *ku-u-ti-ya-an* is admittedly only an etymological guess. It is based on the assumption that the form is a neuter participle with deleted copula, like the following *šu-uḫ-ḫa-an*, and comparable in concord with the preceding NUMUN^{HI.A} *ḫu-u-ma-an*. If this be admitted, then *ku-u-ti-ya-an* could be derived with the suffix *-iya-* from a root *ku-u-t-*, IE **gheu-d-*. as in Goth. *giutan*, German *giessen*, and Lat. *fundō*. The Greek cognate *χεύω* (**gheu-*) in Homer shows the meaning "heap up" (of a funeral mound) as well as "pour, scatter." But *ku-u-ti-ya-an* may of course only be another cereal or legume in the list, making a total of eight, not seven. But a total of seven grains would perhaps correspond better to the seven precious stones and metals next enumerated (I 9-10), and to the seven NINDA.KUR₄.RA ZÍZ TUR "small spelt loaves" added in I 15.

The form *ḫa-at-tar* naturally cannot stand for ZÍZ-tar, since the latter occurs first in the list of different grains. It is furthermore written with geminate *-tt-*, which would lead us to assume a tense *-t-* (IE **t*) rather than lax *-d-* (IE **d*, *dh*) written ungeminated. Again purely etymologically, one might think of Latin *āter* "black" and hazard the guess that *ḫattar* designated a dried legume like black beans. The equation Hittite *ḫattar*: Latin *ātr-* would pose the same curious phonological problem as that of the initial syllable of Hittite *ḫassā-* "altar": Lat. *āra*, Osc. *aasai* "in arā."

It is perhaps worth noting a similar list of cereals and legumes in Archaic Old Irish, corresponding to a social hierarchy, in *Bretha Déin Chécht*, edited by D. A. Binchy, *Ériu* 20 (1966) 1 ff (§1) *duine-diglaim a nnæ ngrainnib gaibtir* "classification of persons is obtained from (on the basis of) nine grains." The grains are then listed hierarchically in ascending order of size, corresponding to descending order of social rank. The list (§2) begins with "a grain of wheat for a supreme king" (*grande crutnechtu do ollum ri[g]*) and finishes with "a bean for a *fer midboth*" (*graindi sebe do fir midboth*). A similar hierarchy in size or value of grain or seed might well be looked for in the Hittite list, and a *black bean* would be expected to appear near the end. If so, the *zi-na-il* could denote a larger variety of bean. That relative size of beans was significant to the Hittites is clear from the Sumerographic writings GŪ.GAL "bean" and GŪ.GAL GAL "large bean" (for the latter Otten, *OLZ* 1955, 392, suggests the Hittite reading *šumeššar*). GŪ.GAL GAL occurs toward the end of a list of measures (PA) of cereals in IBoT II 93 II 12'. The form *zi-na-il* is unexplained; could it be a derivative of *zena-* "autumn"? Cf. ZÍZ *ze-e-na-a*[š "autumn spelt" in the latter text II 8'. For the suffix compare *šuel*, *šuil* "thread" (Lat. *suō*, etc.; the root must have had a final laryngeal, which is lost in Hittite), and *ešharuīl* "Blutung."

Howard Berman also notes in the same letter the existence of a *ḫa-a-tar* in mutilated or unintelligible context in KBo XIII 119 III 21'. Such a form could correspond phonologically to Lat. *ador*; but nothing in the context would support the interpretation of *ḫa-a-tar* as a grain or foodstuff. The same point was made to me by Harry Hoffner in a letter of 29 March 1973. We must therefore await fuller documentation.

A final Hittite noun, likewise not in Friedrich's dictionary, which deserves mention in connection with Hittite *ḫat-* "dry" is the following. In the KI.GUB divination text KBo X 7 + cited above (CTH 549) II 30' ff we read.

- 30' *ták-ku-uš-ša-an A-NA SAG.DU KI.GUB x*[
na-aš da-lu-ú-ga gul-ša-an-za nam-ma-aš-š[i
 32' *še-er ḫa-a-ta-ḫi-iš ki-i-ša-ri A-NA DUMU^{M[ES]}-ŠU[?]/LUGAL[?]*
iš-tar-na šar-ra-aš ki-i-sa- ri

If on the head of the KI.GUB [...
 and it is marked long, and moreover on it
 there is a *ḫātaḫiš*, among [his[?]/the king's[?]] sons
 there will be dissension.

The word *ḫataḫi-* recurs in III 9-10 in the plural: *A-NA^{GIŠ}TUKUL^{1?MEŠ}-ma-as[. . .]še-er ḫa-ta-a-ḫi-e-eš ki-ša-an-ta-ri*, where however the duplicate KBo X 50 II 16' has *ḫa-* followed by a broken sign which is not *ta*.

This text shows a number of Old Hittite linguistic features, as discussed above under I, where it was cited for the verb form *ḫa-a-da-an-ta-ri* "(the rivers) will dry up." The noun *ḫa-a-ta-ḫi-iš* could show an old collective/abstract suffix *-aḫ-i-*, comparable to the Luvian collective/abstract suffix *-aḫ-it-*, where the *-aḫ-* of both continues the Indo-European collective suffix appearing as the neuter plural and outside Anatolian as the "feminine" in *-ā*, on which see *Transl Philol. Soc.* 1971 [1973], 55⁵. The same suffix probably appears in Old Hittite *pa-ra-ra-aḫ-ḫi-iš* KBo III 60 II 10, beside the likewise Old Hittite verb *pa-ra-ra-aḫ-t[a* KUB XXXI 110,7. The *pararahḫiš* in the Menschenfressertext appears to be some sort of (military?) official; compare the suffix *-aḫ-(ḫi)-* with the agentive **-ā* of Slavic *voje-voda*, Lat. *agri-cola*.

If derived from *ḫat-* "dry," the abstract *ḫataḫiš* might mean in this hepatological context "dry spot," which would be an appropriate designation for the appearance of certain pathological saclike growths which I am told may in fact occur on the livers of domestic animals such as sheep. The liver as a whole is hygrophanous, wet in appearance, hence the contrast.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE RECURRENT MOTIFS OF HORACE, *CARMINA* IV

DAVID H. PORTER

I. INTRODUCTION

THREE themes are central to Book IV of Horace's *Odes*, and each of the fifteen poems in the book focuses on one or, in a few instances, two of these themes. One theme is that of time's relentless passing and the melancholy reflections occasioned by that passing. Six poems focus on this theme: 1, 7, 10-13. A second, more joyful theme is that of poetry and poetry's power to immortalize. This theme is dominant in five poems: 2, 3, 6, 8, 9. A third theme is celebration of Augustus, his house, and his regime. This theme is central in four poems, 4, 5, 14, 15, and in addition plays an important role in two of the poems which focus on poetry, 2 and 9.¹

In the central portion of this study I shall show how certain recurrent motifs in the language of the book focus attention on these same three basic themes; first, however, let me briefly discuss the themes themselves and the poems which cluster about them.

We begin with six poems which stress Horace's sense of time's irrevocable passing. The Horace of Book IV painfully realizes that in many ways the prime of his life is past, his youthful pleasures irrevocably lost; death cannot be far away (it was to come only five years after the publication of Book IV). This note of nostalgia is sounded in the very first lines of IV, 1:

Intermissa, Venus, diu
rursus bella moves? parce precor, precor.

¹ On the basic thematic threads of Book IV, see especially E. Fraenkel's superb analysis in *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 400-453. See also W. Wili, *Horaz und die Augusteische Kultur* (Basel 1947) 354-372 (the three themes of the book are "Augustus und sein Haus, Dichtertum und dichterischer Ruhm, Frühling und Liebe," p. 354); D. Norberg, "Le quatrième livre des Odes d'Horace," *Emerita* 20 (1952) 95-107; W. Ludwig, "Die Anordnung des vierten Horazischen Odenbuches," *MH* 18 (1961) 1-10; C. Becker, *Das Spätwerk des Horaz* (Göttingen 1963) 121-193. On the overall structure, see also A. La Penna, *Orazio e l'ideologia del principato* (Torino 1963) 136ff.

non sum qualis eram bonae
 sub regno Cinarae. desine, dulcium
 mater saeva Cupidinum,
 circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
 iam durum imperiis: abi
 quo blandae iuvenum te revocant preces.

Non sum qualis eram is in a sense the key to Horace's current attitude, and the underlying sadness of these words is reinforced by the immediate reference to Cinara, one of the few loves of whom Horace always seems to speak with feeling, and by the half-mocking, half-bitter reference to his present age.² This introduction is followed by a generous tribute to Paulus Maximus (9-28), but the magnanimity of the tribute cannot completely mask the underlying sense of envy, an envy which becomes increasingly manifest in the anaphora of lines 21ff (*illic . . . illic, nec . . . nec . . . nec . . . nec . . . nec*). The hidden sadness of IV,1 bursts fully into the open in its magnificent closing lines, lines whose expressiveness is heightened by their balance with the opening eight lines of the poem, by their continued use of anaphora (*cur . . . cur . . . cur, iam . . . iam, te per . . . te per*), and by their delicate use of assonance and internal rhyme:

sed cur heu, Ligurine, cur
 manat rara meas lacrima per genas?
 cur facunda parum decoro
 inter verba cadit lingua silentio?
 nocturnis ego somniis
 iam captum teneo, iam volucrem sequor
 te per gramina Martii
 campi, te per aquas, dure, volubilis.

(1,33-40)

The same theme appears also in 10-13, the four poems placed just before the final pair of triumphant national odes. Pervading all four of these poems, different as they are in style and subject, is a preoccupation with time's relentless passage. In IV,10 it is time which will tame

² For a penetrating study of IV,1, see E. Lefèvre, "*Rursus bella moves?* Die literarische Form von Horaz, c. 4,1," *RhM* 111 (1968) 166-189. On the underlying sadness of the poem, see also L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge 1946) 51-53; N. E. Collinge, *The Structure of Horace's Odes* (London 1961) 81-82; S. Commager, *The Odes of Horace* (New Haven 1962) 291-297. On Cinara, see Fraenkel, *Horace* 411: "To recall her means recalling the bygone days of his youth." Cf. G. Williams, "Poetry in the Moral Climate of Augustan Rome," *JRS* 52 (1962) 41; A. T. von S. Bradshaw, "Horace, *Odes* 4.1," *CQ* 20 (1970) 145.

Ligurinus' pride and taint his beauty; in IV,11 the passage of time is emphasized alike by the opening line of the poem (*est mihi nonum superantis annum plenus Albani cadus*), by the mention of Maecenas' birthday (18-20, *quod ex hac luce Maecenas meus adfluentis ordinat annos*), and by Horace's description of Phyllis as *meorum finis amorum* (31-32). It is the threat of oncoming death that lends urgency to Horace's invitation to Vergil in IV,12,25-27, and in IV,13 it is the movement of time which both brings Horace his revenge on Lyce and also evokes his nostalgic recollections of past loves.³

We see then that the opening poem of the book strongly suggests Horace's current melancholy over time's passage and that this mood is picked up in 10-13 and applied to various other people and situations. The same theme appears also in IV,7 in its emphasis on the relentless flow of time, a flow to which nature and man, past and present, alike are subject. An important difference between IV,7 and these other five poems, of course, is that in IV,7 the theme of time's ravages is further generalized than it is in these other pieces. Horace still applies the theme to himself (in the *nos* of 14), but his basic point is to extend it to Torquatus, to the Greek and Roman heroes of the past, and to man in general. Thus the theme which Horace applies above all to himself in IV,1 and to various close acquaintances in IV,10-13 is here in the first poem of the book's central triad (IV,7-9) given the widest possible application.⁴

From these six poems pervaded by melancholy and nostalgia and centering on the theme of time's passing, we turn to a second major thematic group within Book IV, those poems which focus on the theme of poetry and its power to confer immortality.

Although the theme of poetry is implicit in IV,1 in that Horace's return to the wars of Venus is, on one level at least, symbolic of his return to lyric poetry,⁵ this theme bursts into the open only in the second

³ On the melancholy of IV, 10-13, see Fraenkel, *Horace* 414-418; Commager, *Odes of Horace* 274-277, 297-306; Becker, *Spätwerk des Horaz* 164-166.

⁴ On the ties between the seasonal imagery of IV,7 and the similar imagery in IV, 10-13, see Commager, *Odes of Horace* 274-281, 297-306. Emphasizing the underlying sadness of these five poems is the fact that they all share with IV,1 a downward emotional movement. IV,7 and IV,12 move from bright opening descriptions of spring to thoughts of death, IV,11 from description of gay festivities to thoughts of dark cares, IV,10 and IV,13 from scorn and triumphant vindication to sympathy and vicarious sadness.

⁵ Note especially the comment of the scholiast Ps.-Acron (on IV,1,2): *hoc est: iterum scribere cogor, cum iam desierim*. Many modern scholars also have commented on the fact that IV,1 allegorically refers to Horace's return to lyric

poem of the book. In IV,2 Horace depicts the torrential flow of Pindaric verse, states his own inability to write that kind of verse, and describes his own more modest muse (27-32). The theme of poetry is central also in four other poems in the book, 3, 6, 8, and 9. In the first two of these the focus is on Horace's own poetic achievement and the satisfaction he takes in that achievement; these two poems thus make explicit what was implicit but ironically underplayed in IV,2. The focus in IV,8 and 9 is on the power of poetry to immortalize, with the former closely associating this theme with Horace himself, the latter treating it largely in general terms; again, as with IV,3 and 6, these poems thus render more central a theme introduced in IV,2 (22-24, *viris animumque moresque aureos educit in astra nigroque invidet Orco*). It is worth noting also that just as IV,7, the first poem of the book's central triad, generalizes the melancholy theme of time's passing which Horace focuses on himself and his close acquaintances in IV,1 and 10-13, so IV,8 and 9, the other poems of that central triad, generalize the implications of the theme of poetry which Horace treats in so highly personal a fashion in IV,3 and 6.

Between the two groups of poems we have been discussing there is a sharp contrast in theme and mood. The first group is melancholy and nostalgic in tone, and the emphasis is repeatedly on the irrevocability of youth and the certainty of death. The second group is suffused with joy in Horace's own poetic talents and attainments, and the dominant note in IV,8 and 9 is that of poetry's ability to survive the ravages of time and of death itself. The contrast between these two themes and the poems that focus on each is perhaps the most basic tension in Book IV, and Horace underlines it by sharply juxtaposing poems taken from these contrasting groups. IV,6, expressing Horace's satisfaction that he has been chosen to compose the *Carmen Saeculare*, is followed immediately by the generalized melancholy of IV,7. IV,7's theme of the inevitability of death contrasts strikingly with the emphasis in IV,8 and 9 on poetry's power to transcend death.⁶ These two poems are in turn followed by four basically melancholy poems whose keynote is man's helplessness before the passage of time (10-13). Finally, the stark contrast between these two themes in IV,6-13 is foreshadowed by the

poetry; see, e.g., Kiessling-Heinze, introduction to IV,1; Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry* 51; Fraenkel, *Horace* 413; Lefèvre, *RhM* 111 (1968) 167ff.

⁶ On the violent thematic contrasts between the central poems of Book IV, see Wili, *Horaz* 360; Fraenkel, *Horace* 419-426; Ludwig, *MH* 18 (1961) 7-8; Becker, *Spätwerk des Horaz* 155, 191.

gulf between IV,1 and IV,3, the two outside poems of the opening triad, with IV,1 stressing Horace's sense that the best part of his life is now past, IV,3 stressing his satisfaction that now at last his poetic accomplishments are gaining the recognition they deserve.

The two groups of poems we have so far discussed differ radically in theme and tone, but common to them is the fact that they focus on and spring from very private concerns, Horace's melancholy sense of the ravages of time in the one instance, his joyful sense of his own poetic accomplishment in the other. The third group in Book IV, the national poems, is far more public in theme, and in keeping with this difference the poems are in general longer and more formal than are the poems in the other two groups. This is especially true of IV,4 and 14, the two poems celebrating the military victories of Augustus' stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius. IV,5 and 15, in which Augustus and his peaceful accomplishments are more central, are shorter and more personal in tone, and in both Horace envisions himself as participating in the celebration of Augustus which his poem depicts (5,37-40; 15,25-32). Two poems that we have classed with the theme of poetry, IV,2 and IV,9, also partake of the theme of national celebration. In IV,2 it is the question of who is to celebrate Augustus' return, and in what sort of verse, that calls forth Horace's reflections on poetry, and IV,9's celebration of poetry's power to immortalize turns out to be the elaborate prelude to Horace's celebration of Lollius, a general of Augustus who had suffered a severe defeat in 16 B.C. It is worth mentioning that these two poems which mingle the theme of poetry with that of national celebration are decidedly longer and more formal in character than are the other three poems which focus on poetry (IV,3, 6, and 8).

The contrast between the national poems of Book IV and the other two thematic groups is far less frontal and well defined than that between the first two groups we considered. We have seen that the national theme merges easily with the theme of poetry in IV,2 and IV,9, and there is even a hint of it in the first of the personal poems, IV,1, where praise of Paulus Maximus, a young aristocrat "on the threshold of a brilliant career,"⁷ looms large. Between the more formal and in general weightier public poems and the shorter, personal poems there is, however, a genuine if far from absolute contrast in character and tone,

⁷ Fraenkel, *Horace* 414. On the introduction in IV,1 of the theme of praise of national figures, see also Lefèvre, *RhM* 111 (1968) 178ff. Figures of national importance appear also in other "personal" poems of Book IV — 7, 8, and 11; see Wili, *Horaz* 342; J. M. Benario, "Book 4 of Horace's *Odes*: Augustan Propaganda," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 349.

and again Horace emphasizes this distinction through his arrangement of poems in the book. Thus the highly personal and short IV,3 (24 lines) is followed by the extremely long and formal IV,4 (76 lines);⁸ the lengthy IV,9 (52 lines), mingling praise of Lollius with the theme of poetry, is followed by the miniature IV,10 (8 lines); and the highly personal IV,13 (28 lines) is followed by the lengthy and impersonal IV,14 (52 lines).

From this brief review we see that three themes are dominant in the book as a whole and that every one of the book's fifteen poems focuses on one or, in two cases, two of these three central themes. It should also be apparent from our survey that Horace does not wish any one of these three themes to be clearly preeminent in his book. For one thing, no one theme dominates in the number of poems that cluster around it: six generally shorter poems (total, 168 lines) cluster around the theme of time's passing, five poems (total, 214 lines) around the theme of poetry, four generally longer poems (total, 200 lines), plus portions of two others, around the theme of Augustus and Rome. Similarly, the positions of special emphasis in the book — beginning, middle, and end — are carefully distributed among the three groups. The theme of time's passing receives the emphatic opening position (IV,1) and the first poem in the book's central triad (IV,7). The theme of poetry receives the second and third poems in both the opening triad (IV,2-3) and also the central triad (IV,8-9). Poems on Augustus and his family receive the emphatic concluding positions (IV,14-15) and a place in important introductory (IV,2) and central (IV,9) poems.⁹

In the remainder of this study I shall show that Horace similarly distributes emphasis equally between these three themes by the way he handles certain recurrent verbal and thematic motifs in Book IV. I shall also further suggest that these motifs by their very recurrence help weave into a whole a book whose unity might otherwise have been severely flawed. That is, the virtually equal stress placed on three strong themes in Book IV could easily have created an impression of disunity and lack of cohesion. That such is not the case is in part the result of an elaborate pattern of recurrent motifs which binds the book's potentially divergent themes and poems into a coherent whole. It is this

⁸ It is also preceded by the long (60 lines) and formal IV,2, a poem where again national celebration is important. On the tensions between IV,2 and IV,3, see Commager, *Odes of Horace* 65 n. 17.

⁹ Cf. Fraenkel, *Horace* 410: "It seems to me that of the extant poetic works of [the Augustan] period no other book shows so refined an arrangement as the last book of Horace's odes."

pattern which will be the subject of the next and principal section of this article.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE RECURRENT MOTIFS OF BOOK IV

Book IV contains an unusually large number of recurrent verbal and thematic motifs. Brief reference to one striking example will both suggest the degree to which such recurrence is present and also clarify what I mean by the term "motif." The motif of the river appears most dramatically in Book IV in striking similes at 2,5ff and 14,25-28, but this same motif is also present in a variety of forms elsewhere in the book. There are general descriptions of rivers at 7,3-4 and 12,3-4, there are metaphorical hints of the river at 1,40 and 11,19-20, and there are references to actual or mythical rivers at 2,30-31; 3,10; 4,38; 5,40; 6,26; 7,27-28; 8,25; 9,2; 14,45-48; and 15,21-24. This motif is thus present in one form or another in all but two poems of the book (10 and 13). Other motifs in the book recur with similar regularity.

That these recurrent motifs in Book IV lend some cohesiveness and continuity to the collection is obvious, but do they have any consistent thematic significance? Do they have any continuity of reference to one or another of the three major themes discussed in the Introduction?

At first glance, the answer to this last question would seem to be no, for on the surface the various motifs appear to display a remarkable *discontinuity*¹⁰ of reference. To take our previous example, for instance, the river simile in IV,2 refers to Pindar's poetry, that in IV,14 to the military might of Tiberius. The metaphorical use of the river in IV,1 refers to Horace's futile quest for the fleeing Ligurinus, that in IV,11 to the passing years which have brought Maecenas' birthday around again. The rivers of 2,30-31; 3,10; and 9,2 are associated with Horace's poetry, those at the start of IV,7 and 12 with the coming of spring, and those of 14,45-48 and 15,21-24 with the Roman Empire under Augustus. Similar discontinuity of thematic reference exists in the case of the other recurrent motifs in the book.

The purpose of the following analysis will be to show that behind this apparent discontinuity there lies a remarkably consistent pattern. Like the river motif, the other motifs of the book divide their thematic references between different themes; what is significant, however, is the

¹⁰ I borrow this term from W. S. Anderson, who uses *discontinuous* to describe Lucretius' practice of using "the same symbols in different, often contradictory senses" ("Discontinuity in Lucretian Symbolism," *TAPA* 91 [1960] 1).

fact that *in every case the multiple themes to which the different motifs refer are precisely parallel*. Each motif in Book IV is associated at one time or another with each of the three following themes: (1) the passing of time and the coming of death; (2) the power of poetry; (3) Augustus and Rome. Moreover, occurrences of the motifs which are *not* associated with one of these themes are so rare as to be negligible, and in most cases each motif appears several times with each of the three basic thematic threads. It can scarcely be accidental that the three themes with which each motif is associated, and to which they are in effect limited, are the very ones which appeared in the Introduction as the central themes of Book IV. The effect of the recurrent motifs in the book is thus not only to lend coherence to the collection by their constant repetition but also to emphasize by their thematic discontinuity the equal stress placed in Book IV on the three central themes.

We turn now to the detailed analysis of eight individual motifs.

THE MOTIF OF THE RIVER

Of the various recurrent motifs of Book IV, perhaps the most prominent is the one already mentioned, that of the river. The first striking appearance of the motif comes in 2,5-12, where a river in flood is used, both in a simile and in subsequent metaphors, to portray the torrential flow of Pindaric verse:¹¹

monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
quem super notas aluere ripas,
fervet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore,

laurea donandus Apollinari,
seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
verba devolvit numerisque fertur
lege solutis . . .

Later in the same poem the river motif is again strongly associated with the theme of poetry, this time with reference not to Pindar but to Horace himself (2,27-32):

¹¹ That the words *fervet . . . ruit profundo ore* (7-8), *devolvit*, and *fertur* (11) extend the river simile of 5-6 has been noted by many scholars. It is worth pointing out that Horace is at pains to introduce most of the recurrent motifs of Book IV early in the book and in passages striking enough to imprint the motifs on the reader's memory. IV,2,5-12 introduces the river motif in this manner, 2,25-32 and 4,1-12 the bird and flying motif, 4,57-60 the tree motif; other motifs are similarly used in striking passages early in the book.

ego apīs Matinae
more modoque
grata carpentis thyma per laborem
plurimum circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
carmina fingo.

Though Horace does not actually compare his own verse to a river, the passage clearly recalls the simile of the Pindaric flood earlier in the poem and picks up its strong association of rivers with poetic inspiration. Moreover, in line 25 Horace associates Pindar with the Theban spring Dirce in the words *Dircaeum . . . cycinum*; in the same way he now associates his own verse with the streams of his native land.

IV,2 thus establishes firmly the association of the river motif with the theme of poetry. Three other passages in Book IV reinforce this association. In 3,10-12 Horace echoes clearly the words of 2,30-32:

sed quae *Tibur* aquae fertile praefluunt
et spissae *nemorum* comae
fingent Aeolio *carmine* nobilem.

(Italicized words are those which directly echo the IV,2 passage; the general similarity of thought and mood is obvious.)¹² The association of Horace's poetry with the river motif appears again in 9,1-4:

ne forte credas interitura, quae
longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
non ante vulgatas per artis
verba loquor socianda chordis . . .

Finally, in 6,25-28 Horace shifts his attention from Apollo the warrior to Apollo the poet in words which again associate the river with the theme of poetry:

doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae,
Phoebe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines,
Daunia defende decus Camenae,
levis Agyieū.

If in these passages we have found a repeated association of the river motif with poetry, other river passages of Book IV refer not to poetry

¹² On these passages, see Commager, *Odes of Horace* 346; also I. Troxler-Keller, *Die Dichterlandschaft des Horaz* (Heidelberg 1964) 155-158; M. O. Lee, "Everything Is Full of Gods: A Discussion of Horace's Imagery," *Arion* 9 (1970) 246ff.

but to one of the other two principal themes of the book. It is to these other occurrences of the motif that I now turn.

The first appearance of the river motif in the book comes at 1,37-40:

nocturnis ego somniis
iam captum teneo, iam volucrem sequor
te per gramina Martii
campi, te per aquas, dure, volubilis.¹³

It is probably true that the simple meaning of the last lines of this stanza is that Horace imagines himself participating in youthful games and pastimes with Ligurinus.¹⁴ Perhaps more important, however, is the clear association here of the river motif with Horace's melancholy over the passing of his youth. We should remember also that a familiar Horatian image is that of the river of time and that Horace introduces this image at 11,19-20.¹⁵ Although the *aquae . . . volubiles* of IV,1 do not literally refer to the river of time, they are at least profoundly suggestive of the insuperable barriers between age and youth which have been erected by time's onward flow.¹⁶

We may note in passing the juxtaposition of this melancholy river motif at the end of IV,1 with the triumphant river motif early in IV,2. Just as Horace frequently arranges his books in such a way as to juxtapose poems of highly contrasting mood and character, so here his placement of the melancholy river image of IV,1 close to the triumphant river images of IV,2 serves effectively both to underline the intentional thematic discontinuity of the motif itself and also to heighten the contrast, central to Book IV, between the theme of time's passing and the theme of poetry.

I have already mentioned that 11,19-20, *adfluentis . . . annos*, is another instance of the association of the river motif with the passing of time. For now I need merely add that, as at 1,40, the river here

¹³ Most commentators, following Ps.-Acron, have taken *volubilis* of line 40 to mean *fluviales*; *Odes* I,8,8; III,7,27-28; and III,12,7 have been cited as parallels to this passage in IV,1.

¹⁴ See Bradshaw, *CQ* 20 (1970) 153; editors compare I,8,4 and 8; III,7,25-28; and III,12,7.

¹⁵ On IV,11,19-20 as referring to the river of time, see Kiessling-Heinze ad loc. For other references in Horace to the stream of time, see *Odes* II,14,1-2 and *Epistles* I,1,23; cf. the related comparison of life's changing fortunes to a river in *Odes* III,29,33-41 and *Epistles* I,12,9. On the image in general, see Commager, *Odes of Horace* 284.

¹⁶ On the end of IV,1, see Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry* 53; Wili, *Horaz* 355; Commager, *Odes of Horace* 293-295; Lefèvre, *RhM* 111 (1968) 182ff; Bradshaw, *CQ* 20 (1970) 153.

appears in a poem in which the nostalgic realization of life's passing is very acute.¹⁷

There are two other places in the book in which the river is clearly associated with life's inexorable passing, and the two are set in strong contrast to each other. In 7,27-28 Horace writes:

nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
vincula Perithoo.

In 8,25-27 he answers:

ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum
virtus et favor et lingua potentium
vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.

In both passages the rivers of the underworld stand for the inevitability of death as part of man's lot. In the second the power of poetry, itself characterized elsewhere by the river motif, is seen as man's only hope of escaping that lot.

Finally, we may mention briefly two other passages where the river motif is associated indirectly with the theme of the passing of time. Both IV,7 and 12 open with joyful descriptions of the arrival of spring, and in each poem one sign of spring's arrival is the end of flooding in the rivers:

Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
arboribusque comae;
mutat terra vices, et decrescentia ripas
flumina praetereunt;

(7,1-4)

Iam veris comites, quae mare temperant,
impellunt animae linthea Thraciae;
iam nec prata rigent nec fluvii strepunt
hiberna nive turgidi.

(12,1-4)

In both poems the surface connotations of the river motif are joyful, but in neither poem is the bright mood sustained beyond the opening lines. Both poems move from thoughts of renewal to thoughts of death (7,7ff; 12,26), and by the end of each poem spring's return has turned out to be less a harbinger of joy than a reminder of time's inexorable

¹⁷ Fraenkel writes on IV,11 (*Horace* 418): "It is all gentleness and mellow resignation. When the poem is over, we still hear one deep note, *meorum finis amorum* — *non enim posthac alia calebo femina*." Cf. Commager, *Odes of Horace* 304: "The *adfluentis annos* are, we realize, his own as well."

passing. In an indirect way, then, the association of rivers with spring in these two poems coheres with other passages we have looked at where the river motif is associated with the theme of time's passing.¹⁸

So far, then, we have seen the river motif in two precisely contrary connections: it is associated with time's relentless passage and with human mortality, but it is associated also with poetry, man's one means of transcending his mortality. It is associated also with the third major theme of the book, that of celebration of Augustus and his accomplishments. The most striking reference of the river motif to this theme is at 14,25-28, of which I have already spoken:

sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
qui regna Dauni praeffluit Apuli,
cum saevit horrendamque cultis
diluvium meditatur agris . . .

The thematic discontinuity in Horace's use of the river motif is rendered the more striking by the fact that this image in IV,14 seems designed and placed so as to balance and recall the river simile of IV,2, a passage where the river has entirely different associations from what it has here in IV,14. The two passages have much in common: the image is the same (a river in flood — note how *volvitur* in 14,25 echoes *devolvit* in 2,11), they are the only extended river similes in the book, and each occurs in a poem one removed from the respective ends of the book.

This last point may seem trifling, but such balancing of motifs seems to be characteristic of the way Horace arranged his books. Scholars have often commented on the special significance Horace attaches to the poems which stand second from the beginning or the end of his collections,¹⁹ and, unless I am mistaken, in each collection of *Epodes* or *Odes* he relates the two poems in these positions by certain similarities in their motifs. Thus in the *Epodes* the second and the sixteenth are clearly related by their similar visions of a blessed, peaceful country life as a somewhat utopian solution to the problems of the speaker's

¹⁸ For a fuller treatment of the river motif in IV,7,3-4 and 12,3-4, see my article "The Motif of Spring in Horace, *Carmina* IV,7 and IV,12," *CB* 49 (1972-73) 57-61. There I suggest that springtime (and hence the rivers with which these poems begin) is associated both with the melancholy theme of time's passing and also with the joyful theme of poetry. Cf. below, n. 56.

¹⁹ See, e.g., W. Port, "Die Anordnung in Gedichtbüchern augusteischer Zeit," *Philologus* 81 (1925-26) 458; Wili, *Horaz* 50 n. 2; V. Pöschl, "Die grosse Maecenasode des Horaz (c. 3, 29)," *Sitzb. Heidelberg* 1961, sec. 1, 41.

current life.²⁰ In *Odes* I–III an even more striking connection is established between I,2 and III,29, the poems of the first collection comparable in position to IV,2 and 14. I,2 opens with an extended description of a river in flood, while the central portion of III,29 is devoted to an elaborate simile of the river of life, now peaceful, now torrential. These passages are the most striking river passages in *Odes* I–III, and as with the two similarly notable river passages of the fourth book, they stand at opposite ends of the collection and are associated with contrasting themes.

The balance between the river similes in IV,2 and 14 therefore seems intentional rather than accidental and may well be designed to recall the similar balance in the river motifs of I,2 and III,29. In any event, the balance between these two passages serves again to underline the thematic discontinuity of the river motif and to highlight the interaction of contrasting themes in Book IV. Just as the contrast between the river motifs at the end of IV,1 and the beginning of IV,2 emphasizes the opposition in the book between the theme of time's passing and that of poetry, so the balance of the river motifs in IV,2 and IV,14 stresses the interplay in Book IV between the theme of poetry and that of the Augustan house.

We may note in conclusion four other passages in which the motif of the river is associated with Roman and Augustan might. Each in itself might seem unimportant; in conjunction with each other, however, and especially in light of the elaborate river simile used of Tiberius in IV, 14, they assume greater significance. In IV,4,38 the Metaurus river is said to have been witness to the turn in Roman fortunes which led eventually to the current grandeur of Rome. In 5,40 the river Ocean is indirectly associated with praise of Augustus.²¹ In 14,45–48 the might of the Augustan empire is characterized by its power over the great distant rivers of the world:

te, fontium qui celat origines,
Nilusque et Hister, te rapidus Tigris,
te beluosus qui remotis
obstrepat Oceanus Britannis . . .

²⁰ Many of the motifs used to describe these two utopias are similar: cf., for instance, *beatus ille*, the opening words of 2, with *arva*, *beata petamus arva*, 16,41–42, the opening words of the description of the utopia of *Epode* 16; and note the following motifs which are common to the two poems: honey (2,15; cf. 16,47); cattle (2,3,11–12, 45–46, 61–64; cf. 16,49–51, 61–62); “music of nature” (2,25–28; cf. 16,47–48); etc.

²¹ Cf. also the prominent use in IV,5 of the liquid image of the sea, again in association with praise of Augustus: lines 9–16, 19.

Very similar to this is 15,21-24:

non qui profundum Danuvium bibunt
edicta rumpent Iulia, non Getae,
non Seres infidive Persae,
non Tanain prope flumen orti.

We have seen, then, that in Book IV the river motif is clearly associated with three different themes. Our analysis of this motif has been more detailed than will be necessary in the case of the others. This is both because the river motif is particularly important and because I wished at the outset to demonstrate carefully the way in which simile, metaphor, and apparently casual mention of a particular motif combine to form a complex but intelligible pattern which lends emphasis to each of the major themes of the book and to their lively interplay.

THE MOTIF OF BIRDS AND FLYING

Let us start again with the most striking appearance of the motif, IV,4,1-12:

qualem ministrum fulminis alitem,
cui rex deorum regnum in avis vagas
permisit expertus fidelem
Iuppiter in Ganymede flavo,

olim iuventas et patrius vigor
nido laborum protulit inscium,
vernique iam nimbis remotis
insolitos docuere nisus

venti paventem, mox in ovilia
demisit hostem vividus impetus,
nunc in reluctantis dracones
egit amor dapis atque pugnae . . .

As with the river motif, we find that the might of the Augustan house is one of the themes with which the bird motif is associated. And as in IV,2 the river motif of lines 5-12 is reinforced by a recurrence of the motif in 30-31, so in IV,4 the opening eagle simile is recalled by 4,31-32:

neque imbellem feroces
progenerant aquilae columbam.

The two other flying images associated with this same theme are less obvious, but since both follow soon after IV,4 and its striking

passages they are perhaps not insignificant. In IV,5,19 the peaceful security enjoyed under Augustus is characterized by a metaphorical use of this motif:

pacatum volitant per mare navitae.

The other passage, 6,21-24, seems to be a triumphant echo of I,15,5 and III,3,61, and as such it certainly reinforces the theme of Augustan glorification:

ni tuis victus Venerisque gratae
vocibus divum pater adnuisset
rebus Aeneae potiore ductos
alite muros.

Whether the bird image in *alite* is felt as such is hard to say; taken by itself, it would probably not be. In view of the plethora of bird and flying images and motifs elsewhere in the book, however, it may be that something of its original force would remain and that it would consequently form a minor link in this particular chain of motifs.

If the association of the bird motif with Rome and the Augustan house is concentrated in IV,4-6, its association with poetry is limited to the two poems which precede this group. In IV,2,25-29 the image of the swan in flight is used to describe the soaring poetic genius of Pindar, while Horace claims to be only a low-flying bee:

multa Dircaeum levat aura cycnum,
tendit, Antoni, quotiens in altos
nubium tractus: ego apis Matinae
more modoque

grata carpentis thyma per laborem . . .

Horace's self-deprecation is plainly somewhat ironic,²² and indeed in the very next poem Horace implies that, by the grace of the Muse, he too has been given the voice of the swan (IV,3,19-20):

o mutis quoque piscibus
donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum . . .

²² On the irony of IV,2, see E. L. Highbarger, "The Pindaric Style of Horace," *TAPA* 66 (1935) 224-225; Wili, *Horaz* 257-258; Troxler-Keller, *Dichterlandschaft des Horaz* 152; W. R. Johnson, "The Boastful Bird: Notes on Horatian Modesty," *CJ* 61 (1965-66) 274; P. L. Smith, "Poetic Tensions in the Horatian *Recusatio*," *AJP* 89 (1968) 62-65. On IV,2 in general, see also P. Steinmetz, "Horaz und Pindar; Hor. carm. IV 2," *Gymnasium* 71 (1964) 1-17; W. Wimmel, "Recusatio-Form und Pindarode," *Philologus* 109 (1965) 83-103; and especially Commager, *Odes of Horace* 59ff.

Just as the triumphant river images of IV,2 are immediately preceded by the melancholy use of the same motif at 1,40, so the triumphant flight motifs of IV,2 and 3 are preceded by a use of this motif at the end of IV,1 in a context of deep melancholy:

nocturnis ego somniis
iam captum teneo, iam volucrem sequor
te per gramina Martii
campi, te per aquas, dure, volubilis.²³

(1,37-40)

The juxtaposition of the melancholy quest for the winged Ligurinus at the end of IV,1 with the triumphant flight of the Pindaric swan and the Matine bee in IV,2 serves again to emphasize the interplay between the theme of time's passing and the theme of poetry.²⁴

Aside from this passage in IV,1, the associations of the flying motif with the theme of the passing of time all occur in IV,10-13. In 10,3 the hair of Ligurinus, itself a symbol of transitory mortal beauty, is said to "fly about his shoulders" (*et, quae nunc umeris involitant, deciderint comae*). The word *involitant* recalls the way in which the winged Ligurinus flew from his aged lover Horace in 1,38-39 and may also suggest the way in which his own beauty will soon fly from him. In 11,25-28 Phaethon and Bellerophon, both of whom have attempted superhuman flights above the earth, appear as examples of mortals who have unwisely attempted to transcend their mortal limitations. That for both men the attempts ended in disaster is symbolic of the danger of man's trying to be something other than mortal, and the flight motif, though not fitting here explicitly with the theme of time's passing, is closely connected with the related idea of man's limited and mortal nature. The bird motif in 12,5-8 is melancholy in tone, and the context in which it appears is one of death and tragedy. This melancholy tone is especially fitting if indeed, as several recent studies

²³ Note the excellent comment of Ps.-Acron on IV,1,37ff: *dicit, se Ligurinum semper ex desiderio somniare et, ut fit, terrore quodam mentis imaginari eum, quasi diu quaesitum et tandem inventum, velut alitem ex ipso evolare complexu*. Cf. also Commager, *Odes of Horace* 306 n. 57. IV,1,10, *purpureis ales oloribus*, spoken of Venus, is another slight touch in the series of bird motifs used to characterize the rapid flight of youth and its loves.

²⁴ IV,2,1-4 seems to serve as a transition between IV,1 and IV,2. Its reference to Icarus picks up from the end of IV,1 the theme of the futility of chasing after the unattainable, and its wings and water imagery recalls the similar imagery in IV,1,37-40. At the same time it foreshadows the triumphant liquid and flying motifs of IV,2,5ff and 25ff.

have suggested, IV,12 was written in remembrance of Horace's friendship with the poet Vergil, who had died in 19 B.C.²⁵

IV,13 contains three references to birds and flying, all used in one way or another to portray the swift flight of youth. In the first of these, 13,9-10, Cupid is said to fly over the dried-out oaks which symbolize Lyce:

importunus enim transvolat aridas
quercus . . .

The lines recall IV,1, where Venus is called "winged with purple swans" (10) and where Horace's own love flies from him (38-39), and they give poignant expression to Lyce's frustration over the loss of her youthful beauty. IV,13,16, *volucris dies*, also describes the flight of time, while in 13,25 Lyce herself is ironically compared to a crow because of the longevity which has carried her beyond her best years.

THE MOTIF OF VENUS AND OF LOVE

This motif, like the other two we have considered, is also associated clearly with all three of the principal thematic threads of the book.

In a number of passages Venus and love represent to Horace all he has lost with the passing of the years. This association appears nowhere more poignantly than at 13,17-22, a passage in which Horace is not so much taunting Lyce for her loss of youth as he is expressing what time has taken away from both Lyce and himself:²⁶

quo fugit Venus, heu, quove color? decens
quo motus? quid habes illius, illius,
quae spirabat amores,
quae me surpuerat mihi,

felix post Cinaram notaque et artium
gratarum facies?

²⁵ See D. H. Porter, "Horace, *Carmina*, IV,12," *Latomus* 31 (1972) 71-87 (q.v. for full bibliography on IV,12), and my article on IV,7 and 12 in *CB* 49 (1972-73) 57-61; see also L. A. Moritz, "Horace's Virgil," *G&R* 16 (1969) 174-193; and K. J. Reckford, *Horace* (New York 1969) 128-129.

²⁶ See Fraenkel, *Horace* 416 (on IV,13,17ff): "The scorn and its wretched victim are almost forgotten, and all that seems to matter is the regret for the lost land of youth, the poet's youth, and, if the reader happens to be old enough, his own youth as well." See also Wili, *Horaz* 356; Commager, *Odes of Horace* 301-302. For a somewhat different interpretation, see K. Quinn, *Latin Explorations* (London 1963) 90-99.

The same mood is sounded in IV,10, where the phrase used of Ligurinus, *Veneris muneribus potens* (1), stands as a reminder both of what time has taken from Horace and what it will soon take from the young boy himself.²⁷ In IV,11 Horace's celebration of Maecenas' birthday, falling as it does on the Ides of the month of *Venus marina* (15), also bears melancholy overtones. Horace knows that Phyllis loves another and that for him she is *meorum finis amorum* (31-32). The month of Venus is thus more a reminder of past joys than an occasion for present celebration.²⁸ In IV,1 a central theme is that Horace, in contrast to Paulus Maximus, is no longer a fit object of Venus' attentions (7ff; note especially *tempestivius*, 9). With deep nostalgia he writes (29-32):

me nec femina nec puer
iam nec spes animi credula mutui
nec certare iuvat mero
nec vincere novis tempora floribus.

Finally, in 7,25-28 even the love of a goddess or of a hero is seen as helpless against death:

infernus neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
liberat Hippolytum
nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
vincula Perithoo.

But in Book IV the motif of Venus and love is also associated clearly with the theme of poetry. Diana and Theseus may have been unable to save their favorites from death, but the loves of Sappho escape death through poetry (9,10-12):

spirat adhuc amor
vivuntque commissi calores
Aeoliae fidibus puellae.

And in contrast to the swift passing of youth and its loves, the love of Helen and Paris lives in poetry (9,13-16).²⁹ Furthermore, in 3,13-15

²⁷ Cf. Fraenkel, *Horace* 414, on IV,10: "The real theme of Horace's poem is . . . regret for the bygone days of youth." On the thematic kinship of IV,10 and 13, see Williams, *JRS* 52 (1962) 41. The thematic ties between the poems are underlined by the verbal similarities between 10,6-8 and 13,17ff.

²⁸ See Fraenkel, *Horace* 416-418; H. Oppermann, "Maecenas' Geburtstag (*Horat.* c. IV 11)," *Gymnasium* 64 (1957) 108-109; Commager, *Odes of Horace* 302-306.

²⁹ Cf. IV,2,21-24.

Horace writes of himself:

Romae principis urbium
dignatur suboles inter amabilis
vatum ponere me choros . . .

The characterization of the choruses of bards as *amabilis* suggests that for Horace the greatest object of his affection has become poetry and that this love has in some way fulfilled his longing for the lost loves of youth.³⁰ We should remember also that in IV,1 Horace not only proclaims that he is no longer fit for love but also, with typical indirection, announces his return to lyric poetry.³¹ Venus, the addressee in this poem, thus serves as a symbol both of the youthful loves which Horace has lost and also of the lyric poetry to which he is now returning with such satisfaction and success.

As with the two previous motifs I have discussed, there remains a third direction in which the Venus motif is used. In addition to her associations with love and with poetry, Venus is also strongly associated with the national themes of Book IV in that she is invoked as ancestress of the Julian house.³² This ambivalence in her role is emphasized by the sharp contrast between lines early in the first poem of the book and lines at the end of its last poem. In 1,4-5 Venus, the goddess who symbolizes both Horace's lost youth and his lyric poetry, is addressed as *dulcium mater saeva Cupidinum*. But the book also ends with the celebration of Venus as mother (15,31-32):

et almae
progeniem Veneris canemus.

Thus Horace encloses his book in these two contrasting mentions of Venus,³³ setting against her association in IV,1 with poetry and youthful love her association in IV,15 with Augustus and the peace his regime has brought.

³⁰ *Amabilis* in its other occurrences in Horace always seems to have strong emotional overtones — e.g., *Odes* I,5,10; II,9,13; III,13,10. Cf. Fraenkel, *Horace* 408 n. 3.

³¹ See n. 5 above.

³² See Kiessling-Heinze on IV,15,31; also K. Meister, "Die Freundschaft zwischen Horaz und Maecenas," *Gymnasium* 57 (1950) 24-25; Bradshaw, *CQ* 20 (1970) 144-145.

³³ See Becker, *Spätwerk des Horaz* 191; L. A. Moritz, "Some 'Central' Thoughts on Horace's Odes," *CQ* 18 (1968) 130 n. 2; Reckford, *Horace* 137-138.

There are several other places in which the motif of love is associated with the Roman Empire and Augustus. In 5,9-16 the country's longing for the return of Augustus is compared to a mother's longing for the return of her son from abroad, a personalization of the attitude of ruled to ruler which accords well with the spirit of this poem.³⁴ 6,21-24 explicitly associates Venus with the escape of Rome's founders (and Augustus' adoptive ancestors) from Troy. In 5,30, *et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores*, the metaphor of marriage characterizes the prosperous life of the vineyard that has resulted from the *Pax Augusta*,³⁵ and in 5,33 there is a hint of the language of love in the words used of the citizens' affection for Augustus: *te multa prece, te prosequitur* (cf. the imagery of love's pursuit in 1,38, *sequor*, and in 11,29, *semper ut te digna sequare*).

THE MOTIF OF WEALTH, COMMERCE, AND GIFTS

Other motifs in Book IV follow a pattern similar to the one we have found in the three previous motifs. In the interest of brevity, I shall present the remaining five motifs in outline form, listing with brief comments the passages in which each motif is associated with each of the book's three central themes.

1. The motif of wealth, commerce, and gifts³⁶ and the theme of the passing of time.
 - a. In the following passages the wealth of others in contrast to Horace's relative poverty suggests the frustration in love which time has brought.

³⁴ On the highly personal tone of IV,5, see Fraenkel, *Horace* 445-449; also K. Eckert, "Der Wandel des Augustusbildes bei Horaz," *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 4 (1959-61), no. 2, pp. 81-87; La Penna, *Orazio* 117ff; Becker, *Spätwerk des Horaz* 169-171; C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: The Ars Poetica* (Cambridge 1971) 460-461.

³⁵ The metaphor is, of course, a familiar one — cf. *Epode* 2,9-10; here, however, it gains fresh significance as part of the pattern in which the love motif is associated with the peaceful accomplishments of Augustus.

³⁶ I group wealth, commerce, and gifts together as one motif because of their common emphasis on value. In IV,8, for instance, there is a clear continuity between these three areas. Horace's gift of poetry is seen as more valuable than any form of material wealth, and Horace speaks of that gift in strongly commercial terms (12); moreover, only through poetry can man earn immortality (note the commercial metaphors in 19 and 22). There is a similar contrast throughout the book between the value of certain moral and spiritual gifts and the value of the forms of material wealth usually prized in commercial dealings. On the gift motif in IV,8 and 12, see Porter, *Latomus* 31 (1972) 85-87.

- (1) 1,13-28. The whole description of Paulus is calculated to give an impression of wealth and plenty: note *nobilis* (13), *centum puer artium* (15), *potentior* (17), and his extravagant worship of Venus (19-28), including the gifts of a shrine, statue, incense, and elaborate rites.³⁷ Horace, in contrast, is certainly not capable of such bounty (cf. 8,1ff, where he states his own inability to give statues or other expensive gifts).³⁸
- (2) 10,1: *o crudelis adhuc et Veneris muneribus potens* . . . Just as Horace in IV,1 feels hopelessly outmatched by the youth and wealth of Paulus, so here he feels, in contrast to Ligurinus' possession of the "gifts of Venus," his own poverty in these same gifts. Note the echo in *muneribus potens* of 1,17-18, *potentior . . . muneribus*. In IV,1 it is above all Paulus' possession of youth which makes him *potentior largi muneribus aemuli*. It is the same gift of youth in which Ligurinus is *potens*.³⁹
- (3) 11,23. Just as Paulus' wealth in IV,1 suggests all those youthful attributes which Horace cannot hope to match, so in IV,11 Phyllis is unable to match the wealth of her rival.
- b. The following passages suggest the uselessness of wealth as a barrier to time's passing or death's coming.
 - (1) 7,14-16: note *dives* in 15.
 - (2) 7,13: *damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae*.
 - (3) 7,17-20:

quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae
tempora di superi?
cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis, amico
quae dederis animo.

The message of (1) is emphasized by the commercial imagery of (2) and (3): in the commerce of life and death, the con-

³⁷ Cf. Kiessling-Heinze on IV,1,13: "Dass Paullus auch reich ist, wird bezeichnenderweise unter seinen Vorzügen nicht erwähnt, sondern ergibt sich erst aus der Kostbarkeit seines Gelübdes."

³⁸ The contrast between Paulus and Horace is underscored by the use of polysyndeton: in lines 13-17 *et* appears five times in rapid succession, suggesting Paulus' great plenty; in lines 29-32 *nec* appears five times, emphasizing Horace's unfitness for love. Cf. Fraenkel's comments on Horace's use of polysyndeton in IV,15 (*Horace* 450).

³⁹ Cf. IV,8,26-27, *lingua potentium vatam*, where it is the poet who is *muneribus potens*; a basic theme of IV,8 is the supreme value of the gift which the poet alone can confer.

stellations "make good their losses,"⁴⁰ but for man there can be no recovery of time spent. The only sensible transaction is to spend one's opportunities on the pleasures of the present while it is still possible.⁴¹

- (4) 13,13-16. Neither costly clothes nor jewels can restore what time has taken away. Time cannot be purchased but comes only by the gift of the fates:

- (5) 13,22-25:

sed Cinarae brevis
annos fata dederunt,
servatura diu parem

cornicis vetulae temporibus Lycen . . .

2. The motif of wealth, commerce, and gifts and the theme of poetry.
a. In the following passages, poetry is seen as the gift of the gods to the poet. This may well be compared with the concept just mentioned (on 13,13-16 and 22-25) of life and youth as the gift of the gods or fates to man.

- (1) 3,20-24:

donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum,
totum muneris hoc tui est,
quod monstror digito praetereuntium
Romanae fidicen lyrae:
quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.

- (2) 6,29-30:

spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem
carminis nomenque dedit poetae.

- b. In the following passages, Horace speaks in one way or another of the wealth of the poet himself. We have seen earlier that Horace expresses a sense of his own poverty when confronted with

⁴⁰ On the astronomical connotations of the line, see D. A. Kidd, "Horace, *Odes* iv.7.13," *CR* 62 (1948) 13; also Collinge, *Structure of Horace's Odes* 96-97; N. Rudd, "Patterns in Horatian Lyric," *AJP* 81 (1960) 381. On the commercial connotations of the passage, see D. Daube, "On the use of the Term *Damnum*," *Studi in onore di Siro Solazzi* (Naples 1948) 130. With *celeres lunae* of IV,7,13, cf. IV,6,38-40. Common to both passages are the moon and an emphasis on time's onward movement. The correspondence is one more example of the remarkable inner coherence of Book IV in even its minutest details.

⁴¹ On the commercial imagery of IV,7,17-20 and such passages, see Pöschl, *Sitz. Heidelberg* 1961, sec. 1, 21-22 and especially n. 30.

Paulus and Ligurinus, both rich in the years they still have in store. The consciousness of his own unique wealth of poetic inspiration is his answer to this "poverty."

- (1) 2,9: *laurea donandus Apollinari* . . . The poet, too, deserves the gift of the laurel as much as the victorious athlete or general: cf. 2,17-18; 3,6-7.
- (2) 2,19-20:

et centum potiore signis
munere donat.

The poet can confer a gift which is far more valuable than any material trophy. The reference here to statues is Horace's answer to 1,19-20 (it is perhaps not accidental that the statue references come at precisely the same lines of the two poems — 19-20 in both instances): though Horace does not have the wealth to give statues, the gift he can give is worth more.⁴² The statue motif appears also in 8,5-8.

- (3) 2,23: *aureos educit* . . .
- (4) 3,17: *testudinis aureae* . . . In contrast to the uselessness of wealth in the face of death, the poet can render men's virtues and lives immortal, thus conferring with his golden lyre a gift more precious than gold.⁴³
- (5) 6,43: *reddidi carmen* . . .
- (6) 11,34-35: *modos . . . quos reddas*. In the context of the poet's song as an invaluable gift given by the gods to him and by him to others, it is probably significant that Horace uses the idioms *carmen reddere* and *modos reddere*, idioms which do not appear elsewhere in his works.
- (7) 8,1-12. Here, in the very center of the book, Horace emphasizes the supreme worth of poetry over other types of gifts.⁴⁴ And just as the commercial imagery of IV,7 stresses

⁴² Cf. *centum* in IV,1,15 and 2,19: in the former passage Horace feels unaccomplished before the *centum artes* of which Paulus is master, but in the latter he admits that the poet's gift is *centum potius signis* (cf. n. 39 above). On Horace's frequent contrast of inner wealth with external riches, see Commager, *Odes of Horace* 334-336.

⁴³ IV,2,3-4, *daturus nomina ponto*, may be an ironic extension of the poetry-gift association: the poet can confer the gift of immortality on human deeds, but the poet who foolishly imitates Pindar may, like Icarus, end up immortalizing only his own failure.

⁴⁴ Note the commercial terms Horace uses of his poetry in line 12. On *deliciarum* (IV,8,10), cf. Kiessling-Heinze: "*deliciae* hat fast stets einen abschätzigen Nebensinn."

the uselessness of material wealth in the face of death, so the commercial imagery of IV,8 demonstrates that the priceless gift of immortality can be conferred by poetry alone:

(8) 8,19: *lucratus rediit* (of Scipio's winning of fame);

(9) 8,20-22:

neque
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris.

(10) 8,26-27:

et lingua potentium
vatum divitibus consecrat insulis

Scipio may have reaped a rich profit of renown (8), but without Ennius' celebration of him in poetry he would never have received the final payment of immortality (9). Only the poet can grant access to the true *divites insulae* — i.e., to immortality (10).

(11) 9,10-12: note *commissi*, line 11.⁴⁵

(12) 9,28: . . . *caerent quia vate sacro*. Even men of great power and bravery may die in oblivion because they lack a bard. Only those deeds and emotions which are entrusted to poetry live.

(13) 14,1-5. In the context of this book the clear, but tactfully unstated, answer to this rhetorical question is, "My poetry is the gift which above all others will make the deeds of Augustus immortal."⁴⁶

3. The motif of wealth, commerce, and gifts and the theme of the Augustan regime.

a. In the following two passages Augustus and the success of his regime are treated as gifts of the gods. This treatment is parallel to the way in which commercial motifs are used to establish the gods as the only givers of life and of poetic inspiration (see above).

(1) 2,37-40:

quo nihil maius meliusve terris
fata donavere bonique divi
nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
tempora priscum.

⁴⁵ For the strong commercial overtones in *commissi*, cf. *Odes* I,3,5-8; 24,11-12.

⁴⁶ Cf. Kiessling-Heinze, introduction to IV,14: "Andere Oden dieses Buchen lehren, dass er meint: 'So gut wie jene offiziellen Ehrungen, oder besser als sie, kann mein Lied, das auch die Nachwelt lesen wird, der Unsterblichkeit deines Ruhmes dienen.'"

The reference to the golden age recalls lines 22-23 of the same poem,⁴⁷ suggesting a certain relationship between the golden immortality conferred by poetry and the golden era of peace that has now begun.

(2) 14,37-38:

fortuna lustris prospera tertio
belli secundos reddidit exitus . . .

Cf. 6,39, *prosperam frugum* . . . (of Diana), and 8,34, *Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus*, two passages in which the ultimate power of the gods over human affairs is stressed in similar words but without particular references to the Augustan regime. The echo of both passages in 14,37-38 underlines Horace's belief that the success of the Augustan era is indeed the gift of the gods.⁴⁸

- b. In the following passages commercial motifs are associated with the bounty and wealth of Rome and especially that enjoyed under the rule of Augustus.

(1) 4,37-38:

quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus,
testis Metaurum flumen . . .

- (2) 4,50. The Roman defeat of Hannibal is seen as a reaping of rich booty.
- (3) 4,59: *per damna* is a commercial motif used to describe Rome's power to endure all manner of setbacks. Cf. 7,13 and 17-18, where similar commercial imagery is used to contrast the precarious state of man's life with the ever recurring cycles of nature. In contrast to Rome's ability to emerge from crises unscathed, the ordinary human lot stands always subject to imminent bankruptcy.
- (4) 5,5: *lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae*. Augustus is asked to give back, to restore, light to Rome by his return (cf. 14,37-38: *fortuna . . . secundos reddidit exitus*).⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Cf. W. Wimmel, "Eine Besonderheit der Reihung in Augusteischen Gedichten," *Hermes* 82 (1954) 218.

⁴⁸ A third passage, IV,2,51ff, also emphasizes Horace's sense of dependence on the gods for the blessings Augustus has brought. Horace promises to render to the gods fulfillment of certain vows if Augustus returns safely.

⁴⁹ With *reddidit* in IV,14,38 cf. *reddo* in IV,6,43 and 11,35, in both cases used of poetry.

- (5) 5,19-20. The literal flourishing of commerce under Augustus.
- (6) 15,6-8. The success of the Augustan regime in making good its losses is again stressed. Compare with this 7,23-24, in which the general incapability of man to restore what he has lost is expressed, using the same word, *restituo*.
- (7) 15,26. The *iocosi munera Liberi* are part of the celebration of the greatness of Rome and Augustus.

THE MOTIF OF WAR

- 1. The motif of war and the theme of the passing of time.
 - a. Military motifs are associated in IV,7 with the passing of time and the coming of death.
 - (1) 7,1-2. This poem, in which military imagery is so basic (see items 1 through 6 under this heading), opens with a military metaphor: the onward march of the seasons is described by the flight of the snows before the grass which now masters the fields.
 - (2) 7,5-6. The reappearance of the nymphs as a sign of spring is also couched in military terms: *audet ducere*.
 - (3) 7,8: *rapit* sustains the prevailing military context.
 - (4) 7,9-12. The description of the cycle of the seasons has definite military overtones, especially in *proterit* and *recurrit*.⁵⁰
 - (5) 7,13. Though the metaphor is predominantly commercial, it may take on a military cast also because of the general military context (cf. *per damna* in 4,59).
 - (6) 7,19-20. The only escape for man is in a *carpe diem* philosophy (cf. *fugient* here and *diffugere* in line 1 of the poem).
 - b. Military motifs are associated in the following passages with the loss of youthful love and loveliness.
 - (1) 11,21-24: note *petis* and *occupavit* and the imagery of taking a captive prisoner — *tenet . . . compede vinctum* (cf. 1,37-40). We are not told whether or not Phyllis's age has anything to do with her failure to "capture" Telephus, but in any case, her frustration in love, whatever its cause, harmonizes with the general theme of the limits set upon mortal success and with Horace's and Lyce's frustration in love (IV,1, 10, and 13). That Phyllis's age may be a factor in her failure to

⁵⁰ M. Andrews, "Horace's Use of Imagery in the Epodes and Odes," *G&R* 19 (1950) 109, notes how these two words carry on the "military setting of the first line." Cf. Collinge, *Structure of Horace's Odes* 27.

attract Telephus is supported by the fact that the aging Horace chooses her as his fellow sufferer and suggests that together they may find consolation in song.

- (2) 13,6-10. That there is a military metaphor in *excubat* many commentators have noted, and it seems likely that it is supported by *sollicitas* and *refugit*.
- (3) 13,17. Again, as in line 10, love flees. In both of these passages from IV,13 Lyce's vain efforts to recapture her youthful beauty and love are compared to a losing battle. Against the march of time she is helpless, and youthful love, keeping watch (*excubat*), eludes her efforts at capture.
- (4) 1,1-2, 16, 38-40. We have seen in the three preceding passages how in IV,11 and 13 the frustration of lovers past their prime is described in military terms. The predominant imagery of the war of love in IV,1 falls on the one hand into this same category, for Horace proclaims himself unfit for this war (1-7), urges Paulus' superior qualifications for the fray (15-16), and shows his own frustrated efforts to capture Ligurinus (38-40: *iam captum teneo, iam volucrem sequor te per gramina Martii campi*, with the *Campus Martius* being an ironically fit site for this "battle" of love). On the other hand, however, we must remember that in this poem to Venus Horace not only laments the loss of his youth but also announces indirectly his return to lyric poetry. Insofar as Horace's return to love is used allegorically to represent his new lyric efforts, his protestations of inadequacy for its battles are clearly ironic, for in no other collection of his poems does he express such confidence in his poetic gifts as he does later in this book. Indeed, we shall see that Horace applies to his own poetic efforts and to the power of poetry in general the same type of military metaphors as he uses in IV,1 to proclaim himself unfit for the war of love. The war-of-love imagery of IV,1, therefore, foreshadows both the melancholy use of military motifs in IV,7, 11, and 13 and also, ironically, the triumphant association of this motif with poetry elsewhere in the book (see below).

It is worth noting also that the opening words of the book, *intermissa . . . diu rursus bella moves*, are a fitting introduction to another major theme of the book — i.e., the resumption of war by Augustus and his stepsons. The war metaphors of IV,1 thus point ahead not only to the themes of time's passing

- and of poetry but also to the frequent association of the military motif with the theme of the Augustan house.
2. The military motif and the theme of poetry. In the following passages military motifs are used to emphasize poetry's unique power to defeat the otherwise invincible march of time.
 - (1) 6,27 and 35. Horace asks Apollo to defend the glory of his muse, in effect requesting the god's aid in the battle against oblivion (note that this metaphor unites the two aspects of Apollo, that of him as god of war, in which capacity he appears in the first part of this poem, and that of him as god of poetry, in which capacity he appears here). The military image in *servate*, line 35, is not a strong one, but since it is the human counterpart of Horace's plea in 27 for divine assistance it should not be overlooked.
 - (2) 8,13ff; 9,17ff. Implicit in both of these passages is the superiority of poetry to military prowess in the fight against oblivion. The deeds of Scipio and the heroes of the Trojan War live on, but only because of Ennius and Homer. In emphasizing this power of the poet, Horace in 8,25 uses a military metaphor of the way in which the poet rescues men from oblivion: *ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum* (cf. 2,21, *raptum*; 7,8, *rapit*; 15,7, *derepta*, all of which have connotations of war). Similarly, in 9,7 the muse of Alcaeus is itself honored with the epithet *minax*: cf. the threats of *war* elsewhere in the book — 3,8; 8,16.
 3. The military motif and the theme of the Augustan regime. The association of the military feats of the Augustan era with this motif is self-evident, and there is no need to run through the long list of passages in which military terms are used to describe Roman victories of the past and present. IV,4 and 14 are largely devoted to celebrating the success of Roman arms, and the theme of Roman military might appears in other poems of the book as well (2, 5, 8, and 15). The appearance of this martial theme itself constitutes one side of the discontinuous pattern of the military motif, setting Roman military might over against the power of poetry and the march of time. What is more significant, however, is the fact that the military motif is associated also with the *peaceful* accomplishments of Augustus and Rome.⁵¹ It is to examples of this association that I now turn.

⁵¹ B. L. Ullman, "We Want a Virgilian Peace," *CJ* 41 (1945-46) 1-3, discusses Vergil's technique of using words generally associated with war to refer to peace — e.g., *pacem gerere*, *Aen.* VII,444; IX,279 (cf. IV,98-100); and *paci imponere morem*, *Aen.* VI,852.

- (1) 5,2 and 15,17. In these two passages the military term *custos* is used to characterize Augustus' role as a peacetime guardian of the state. In both passages the emphasis is on his role as preserver of the peace at home: in IV,5 the blessings occasioned by his return and listed in lines 17-24 are all peaceful ones, while in 15,17-20 his role as *custos* is associated with the avoidance of civil war.⁵²
- (2) 5,5 and 37. Similarly, Horace uses the title *dux* twice of Augustus in this poem. The context and the addition of the epithet *bone* in both cases, however, make it clear that this is the leader in peace and not in war.⁵³
- (3) 5,22, 24, and 33 (the last is a martial as well as a love image: it is drawn from the metaphor of the war of love). These passages all express the joys of the Augustan peace in military terms. Conquest and pursuit are now concerned with the defeat of wickedness and crime (22 and 24), and in its affection for its ruler the country "pursues" him with its prayers for his well-being (33).
- (4) 15,6-8. Horace uses military terms to describe the recovery of the standards from the Parthians, a recovery won in fact not by force but by peaceful negotiation, to Augustus' great satisfaction.⁵⁴

THE MOTIF OF FIRE AND LIGHT

1. The motif of fire and light and the theme of the passing of time.
 - (1) 1,12. Horace sees the flame of love as something now foreign to him and representative of what he has lost.

⁵² That the title *custos* was officially used of Augustus (cf. Kiessling-Heinze on IV,5,1; Fraenkel, *Horace* 296, 452) does not detract from its significance here as an element in Horace's metaphorical pattern. Just as elsewhere he turns to his own significant use phrases that are traditional (cf. n. 35 above), so here he fits an actual title of Augustus into his pattern of military imagery used to characterize Augustus as peacemaker.

⁵³ Cf. Kiessling-Heinze on IV,5,5: "*dux bone*, was 37 geflissentlich wiederholt wird und wobei schon der Zusatz *bone* den Gedanken an den *dux belli* (wie III 14,7) ausschliesst . . ." See also R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1960) 312; Benario, *TAPA* 91 (1960) 350; Eckert, *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 4 (1959-61), no. 2, pp. 83-84.

⁵⁴ Cf. W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom* (Wiesbaden 1960) 272 n. 3: "Aber man spürt dabei eine Freude am martialischen Ausdruck, wie sie in dem Moment aufkeimt, wo das Geschehen selbst seinen martialischen Charakter verloren hat."

- (2) 11,25-26. The burning of Phaethon is used as an *exemplum* of what happens to a man if he attempts to transcend his mortal limitations.
- (3) 11,33-34. Horace's recognition that time is running out for him is expressed in the words *non enim posthac alia calebo femina* (cf. 1,12; 13,26-28).
- (4) 12,26. The black fires of the funeral pyre are symbolic of the brevity of human life.
- (5) 13,26-28:

possent ut iuvenes visere fervidi
multo non sine risu
dilapsam in cineres facem.

In contrast to the *fervidi iuvenes*, Lyce's torch, like Horace's, is now burning out.

2. The motif of fire and light and the theme of poetry.

- (1) 2,22-24.
- (2) 3,1-2.
- (3) 8,17-20. The *clarius* of 19 extends the fire image of 17 (if that line is genuine) and suggests that the blaze of poetry outshines even the blaze of burning Carthage.⁵⁵
- (4) 9,27-28. In passages (1) through (4) the power of poetry is associated somewhat conventionally with the giving of light. These passages gain particular significance, though, from the fact that Horace, as we have seen above, elsewhere uses images of fire to symbolize the very opposite of poetry's undying flame — i.e., the flame of youth which so quickly burns out and the funeral pyre which awaits us all.
- (5) 2,7. *Fervet* appears within the river image in description of the genius of Pindar (cf. *fervidi* of 13,26).
- (6) 9,11-12, 13. In contrast to the short-lived fires of youthful passion (see IV,1, 11, and 13), the fires of Helen's and Sappho's loves retain their ardor because they are preserved in verse.
- (7) 11,35-36. Horace balances the light of his *poetry* (*minuentur atrae carmine curae*), which he still retains, against the fire of passion, which he claims now to have lost (33-34, *non enim posthac alia calebo femina*). The sharp contrast in the thematic reference of these two light-fire motifs underlines the interplay in the poem between Horace's sense of loss and his sense of poetic achievement. Furthermore, when we find that Horace is

⁵⁵ Cf. the way *clarabit*, IV,3,4, picks up the light image of lines 1-2.

inviting Phyllis to share the consolation of song rather than the blaze of passion, the image of light at the beginning of the poem takes on similar associations:

- (8) 11,5-6. The light which Horace promises Phyllis is that of the poet rather than the lover.⁵⁶
3. The motif of fire and light and the theme of Rome and the Augustan regime. This association is a conventional and natural one and requires little comment.
 - (1) 2,46-47.
 - (2) 4,39-41. Commentators compare (1) and (2). Wickham comments on (2): "The daylight is at once literal and metaphorical."
 - (3) 5,5-8. Cf. *adfulsit* with *fulges*, 11,5.
 - (4) 6,42: *referente lucis*. The return of the secular games is treated as a return of brightness; compare the many places in the book in which the onward motion of time is viewed as bringer of darkness rather than as restorer of light.⁵⁷
 - (5) 8,17 (if genuine). The burning of Carthage is seen as a symbol of Roman greatness.⁵⁸
 - (6) 14,5-6. Cf. 5,40; 15,15-16.

⁵⁶ That the light-fire images of IV,11 should be associated both with Horace's loss of the flame of passion and also with his poetry is, of course, fully in keeping with his treatment of recurrent motifs throughout Book IV (cf. the ambivalent connotations of Venus in IV,1, or of the river motif in IV,7 and 12: see above, n. 18). For a somewhat different interpretation of the light-fire motifs in IV,11, see K. J. Reckford, "Some Studies in Horace's Odes on Love," *CJ* 55 (1959-60) 30-31. It is worth noting that IV,11,12, and 13 all end with the fire motif. In IV,12,26 and 13,26-28 the fires suggested are those of death and the rapid burning out of youth, while in IV,11 Horace balances his loss of the blaze of love (33-34) against the still-bright light of his poetry (35-36). On the fire imagery in IV,13, see Quinn, *Latin Explorations* 98.

⁵⁷ Note also IV,15,25, where *lucibus* is the word used for the bright days of the Augustan era. On this passage of IV,15, cf. Eckert, *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 4 (1959-61), no. 2, p. 89: "Man beachte auch die nochmalige Verwendung des Wortes *lux* (v. 25), das in c IV 5 eine so wichtige Rolle spielte."

⁵⁸ Just as the light-fire motif is associated both with poetry's power to immortalize and with the bounds of human mortality which poetry thus conquers, so the same motif is used not only of the Augustan regime and its successes but also of those enemies which Rome has overcome. In IV,4,43 Hannibal is compared to a forest fire, in 4,53 there is an allusion to the burning of Troy, and in 6,18-20 we learn of the intention of Achilles to burn even the infants and unborn children of Troy. (2,15-16, though not referring to the particular enemies of Rome, refers to the enemies of humanity and probably coheres to this group.) We may read IV,14,22-24 as an answer to these passages in which Rome's enemies are associated with fire: *impiger hostium vexare turmas et frementem mittere equum medios per ignis*.

We may add as an appendix to this section a short discussion of the astronomical motifs in Book IV. They too sustain the discontinuous pattern which we have found in the other motifs. In IV,7 astronomical imagery is used to contrast the recurrent cycles of nature with man's one brief passage across the sky: 7,13, cf. 7,21, *occideris*, which many scholars have pointed out is astronomical in connotation — the "setting" of man's star.⁵⁹ Similarly, in the description at 2,54-60 of the victim so soon to die, the use of the motif of the moon (57-58) is not merely descriptive: it has ironic significance in the fact that we know that this moon which has just risen (note the emphasis on the youngness of the animal and the newness of the moon) is soon to set. In contrast to these two passages in which astronomical phenomena are associated with life's rapid passing, elsewhere the same motif is used in connection with the more positive themes of the book. At 6,38-40 the goddess of the moon is revered as protectress of Rome, and at 2,22-24 and 8,31 stars are associated with poetry's power to immortalize.

THE MOTIF OF TREES AND FLOWERS

1. The motif of trees and flowers and the theme of the passing of time.

(1) 6,9-10:

ille, mordaci velut icta ferro
pinus aut impulsa cupressus Euro . . .

The death of Achilles, here compared to the fall of a great tree, suggests the limits of mortal strength (and Achilles even had some divine blood — 6,6) in the face of divinity (compare with this passage 4,57-60).

(2) 9,32-34. The power of time to efface mortal deeds is expressed in the metaphor of plucking a flower (*carpere*).⁶⁰

(3) 10,3-4:

deciderint comae,
nunc et qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae . . .

The surface meaning of *comae* here is hair, but it clearly carries connotations also of its other meaning, leaves, especially in

⁵⁹ Cf. Rudd, *AJP* 81 (1960) 381: "The verbs *decidimus* and *occideris* . . . remind us that human bodies, no less than heavenly ones, move towards their setting." On IV,7,13 see n. 40 above.

⁶⁰ Cf. S. Commager, "The Function of Wine in Horace's Odes," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 75 n. 15, on the *carpe diem* passage of *Odes* I,11,7-8: "We should preserve the horticultural metaphor . . . The overtones of inevitable natural decay add weight to the injunction." The same is true in IV,9,33, I believe (cf. also the use of the word in IV,2,29).

conjunction with *deciderint* and the rose image of line 4.⁶¹ *Comae* is used of leaves at 3,11 and 7,2, and the relationships of the latter passage to IV,10 are especially interesting:

Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
arboribusque comae;

Central to the poem which begins with these words is the contrast between the recurrent cycles of nature and the linear course of human life. The same point is basic also to IV,10, and the thematic kinship of the two poems is stressed by the close verbal ties between them. Each spring the trees renew their leaves (7,1-2), but once Ligurinus' *comae* have fallen, there will be no return for him to the springtime of his life: *vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genae* (10, 8, with *redeunt* echoing 7,1).⁶² The fall of those *comae* (10,3, *deciderint*) will be as final as man's last fall: *nos ubi decidimus* (7,14).

- (4) 13,6,9-10.⁶³ Green youth in contrast to dried-out age. Note how 13,12, *capitis nives*, extends the seasonal imagery of these other passages.

2. The motif of trees and flowers and the theme of poetry.

- (1) 2,29-30.

- (2) 3,11. In both (1) and (2) the grove of trees appears in close connection with Horace's poetry.

- (3) 11,2-5. We have pointed out above that what Horace offers Phyllis is not the youthful gift of fiery love but the mature consolation of poetry. The promise of green parsley and ivy with which to garland Phyllis therefore looks ahead to Horace's real gift of poetry. This fits in with two other passages in which poetry is also associated with garlands:

- (4) 2,9, and

- (5) 9,31. In (4) the poet is deemed worthy of the wreath of laurel, in (5) Horace promises the garland of poetry as an eternal decoration for the virtues of Lollius (the use of *orno* as referring

⁶¹ On the double meaning of *comae* in IV,10, see Commager, *Odes of Horace* 297-298.

⁶² Note how the rhyme on *-ae* in 10,2-4, the lines in which seasonal imagery dominates, is recalled by the last word of the poem, *genae*. The seasonal imagery of the poem makes Bentley's *bruma* (line 2) attractive (cf. *capitis nives* in IV,13, 12).

⁶³ This passage may be compared to I,25,17-20, though the earlier poem lacks the nostalgia and melancholy empathy of the later one. On the contrast in tone between the two poems, see Fraenkel, *Horace* 415; Wili, *Horaz* 356. On the seasonal imagery in both IV,10 and 13, see Commager, *Odes of Horace* 297-302.

to garlands seems likely from the parallel of 3,7).⁶⁴ Moreover, the horticultural metaphor in 9,33, *carpere*, makes a reference to garlands in 31 particularly appropriate:⁶⁵ the garland of verse with which Horace will decorate Lollius will never wither, unlike the flowers of fame which are so often plucked by oblivion. The use of the garland in association with the power of verse should be set against Horace's protestation in IV,1,31-32, *nec certare iuvat mero nec vincere novis tempora floribus*: the garlands of youthful love may wither, but the poet possesses the undying garland of poetry, both as a gift conferred upon his works (2,9) and as a gift which he can confer upon the merits of others (9,31). We may compare the similar stressing of these two aspects of the poet's position in the gift imagery — his receipt of gifts from the gods and his power to give them to other men.

3. The motif of trees and flowers and the theme of the Augustan regime.

(1) 2,35-36. Augustus crowned with the wreath of glory.⁶⁶

(2) 4,57-60:

duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
nigrae feraci frondis in Algido,
per damna, per caedis, ab ipso
ducit opes animumque ferro.

⁶⁴ IV,8,33, *ornatus viridi tempora pampino*, if it is genuine, also supports the association of *orno* with garlands.

⁶⁵ Cf. IV,2,29, *carpentis thyma*, where Horace compares himself to a bee flitting from flower to flower gathering honey.

⁶⁶ The garland motif in IV,8,33 seems to be associated with the themes both of poetry and of Augustus. The line appears in a passage celebrating poetry's power to immortalize, and if it is genuine, its similarity to III,25,20 must be intended to recall III,25, a poem in which Horace's devotion to Bacchus is intimately related to his desire to celebrate Augustus. Moreover, the list of gods and demigods with which IV,8 concludes strongly suggests that behind the passage's explicit celebration of poetry's immortalizing power lies Horace's implicit celebration of Augustus. Of the figures mentioned in lines 22-34, all but Aeacus are precisely those elsewhere associated with Augustus: cf. *Odes* I,12,21-34; III,3,9-16; *Epistles* II,1,5-12; in all of which we have, as in IV,8, Romulus, Hercules, the Tyndaridae, Bacchus. Cf. also IV,5,35-36, where Castor and Hercules appear. In Vergil, cf. *Aen.* VI,777-805, and see G. E. Duckworth, "*Animae Dimidium Meae*: Two Poets of Rome," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 296-297. On this catalogue, see A. Elter, *Donarem pateras* (*Horat. carm.* 4, 8) (Bonn 1907); A. R. Anderson, "Heracles and His Successors," *HSCP* 39 (1928) 7-58, esp. 44-45; A. R. Bellinger, "The Immortality of Alexander and Augustus," *YCS* 15 (1957) 91-100; E. Doblhofer, "Zum Augustusbild des Horaz," *RhM* 107 (1964) 330ff, and *Die Augustuspanegyrik des Horaz* (Heidelberg 1966) 122ff.

The ability of the Roman state to emerge triumphant from all manner of setbacks is compared to the invincible strength of a great tree. The image has been metaphorically foreshadowed in lines 33-34 and 43.

(3) 5,18.

(4) 5,30.

(5) 15,4-5. In these three last examples, the growth of crops and vines characterizes the Augustan peace.⁶⁷

THE MOTIF OF MUSIC AND DANCING

This minor motif has inevitable associations with the theme of poetry, but it appears also in conjunction with the other two major themes of the book.

1. The motif of music and dancing and the theme of the passing of time.

(1) 1,22-28. Behind the detailed description of the singing and dancing which will accompany Paulus' worship of Venus is Horace's realization that all this he has lost (cf. 1,29-32).

(2) 7,5-6. The dance of the nymphs which heralds the return of spring contrasts poignantly with the passage we have just looked at in IV,1: in the cycle of the seasons, each year may bring another spring and with it the renewed dance of the nymphs, but for man no second springtime can restore the dances of his youth.

(3) 13,5-6. The futility of Lyce's attempts to recapture the loveliness of her youth by singing upholds Horace's assertion in IV,7 that nothing can restore what man has lost to time. Lyce's pathetic efforts to renew her youth contrast with Horace's acceptance, albeit painful, of his lot (e.g., 1,29-32).⁶⁸

2. The motif of music and dancing and the theme of poetry.

(1) 2, passim, especially 32 and 45-48. Horace's recognition in these lines of his own poetic gifts, albeit modest, should be taken as an answer to IV,1, 22-24, where Horace had maintained that Paulus rather than himself was fit to offer celebration in song.

⁶⁷ The phrase *instar veris* used to describe Augustus in IV,5,6 also coheres with the imagery of flowers, garlands, and the seasons in Book IV; on this passage, see Commager, *Odes of Horace* 224-226; and R. R. Dyer, "Diffugere nives: Horace and the Augustan Spring," *G&R* 12 (1965) 79-84.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Epistles* I,14,32-36, a passage which has many close similarities to IV,13 —e.g., the *nitidi capilli* of 32 (cf. 13,12), the nostalgic recollection of Cinara, and line 36, *nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum* (cf. 13,4), etc.

- (2) 3, *passim*, especially 14-15. The metaphor of the choruses of poets suggests Horace's rejuvenation through his poetry: the chorus is elsewhere in the book limited to youth alone — 1,25-28 (the young dancers of Paulus); 6,31ff (the young chorus of the *Carmen Saeculare*); and 7,5-6 (the eternal youth of the nymphs and graces).
- (3) 6,25ff. Again a triumphant assertion of poetic achievement. Horace's intimate association with the young performers seems to bring back something of his own youth: compare the *virginum primae puerique* of 6,31 with whom Horace associates himself so closely with the *pueri . . . cum teneris virginibus* of 1,25-26 from whom he feels so severed by his age.⁶⁹
- (4) 8, *passim*, esp. 11-12, 20ff.
- (5) 9,1-4, 30-34.
- (6) 11,35-36.
3. The motif of music and dancing and the theme of the Augustan regime. IV,4, 5, 14, 15, and to a certain degree several other of the poems of the book are themselves celebrations in song of the Augustan regime, and little more need be said about them than that they too are Horace's answer to his loss of the songs of youth. In the following individual passages the motif of song and dance is explicitly associated with the theme of the Augustan house.
 - (1) 2,33ff. The celebration of Augustus and his accomplishments by Horace and Antonius.
 - (2) 15,25-32. Another kind of convivial song, one which harks back to early Roman customs and one which Horace feels very suited to sing, closes the book which began with a poem in which he stated his unfitness for the songs and dances of youth (cf. also the convivial scene with which IV,5 closes).

III. CONCLUSION

In conclusion we may say that the function of the recurrent motifs of Book IV is twofold. In the first place, the very fact that certain recurrent motifs do run throughout the book lends to it a cohesiveness and a continuity it sorely needs. Torn as Book IV is between conflicting themes and emotions, containing as it does an assortment of highly

⁶⁹ Cf. Fraenkel, *Horace* 405: "How much he must have enjoyed conversing with those fine young people [i.e., the performers of the *Carmen Saeculare*] at a time when he found it often very hard to accept the melancholy fact that he was growing old."

varied poems, the collection could easily have become a merely random array of miscellaneous and heterogeneous pieces. The elaborate and carefully wrought network of motifs which we have been studying assures that the book will not fly apart at the seams. There are other means by which Horace binds together the poems of his collection, but perhaps none is more pervasive or more deeply engrained than this pattern of insistently repeated verbal and thematic motifs.

At the same time as this pattern lends needed cohesiveness to the book, it serves also a second and quite different function: by its very discontinuity of thematic reference it underlines the basic thematic tensions of Book IV. I suggested in the Introduction that Book IV divides its focus between three important themes and that Horace uses various means to assure that each of these three themes will receive equal weight in the total structure of the book. The pattern of recurrent motifs obviously coheres admirably with this intentional thematic discontinuity. Horace uses each of the recurrent motifs in such a way that it too, like the book as a whole, is pulled in three different thematic directions. Thus the very motifs which by their constant recurrence lend a needed cohesiveness to the collection also serve to underscore its central thematic tensions and to weave them deeply into its verbal texture.

C. Day Lewis has written:

[The poet] can say in one breath "Odi et amo," and at once we are in a world where contradictions vanish, fused into one by the passion with which they have been felt, the design in which they have been related.⁷⁰

Book IV as a whole, to say nothing of its component poems,⁷¹ is a superb example of the poet's ability to fuse contradictory themes and

⁷⁰ *The Poetic Image* (London 1947) 28. Among the many scholars who have commented on the degree to which Horace's poetry springs from basic emotional and thematic tensions, see especially Commager, *Odes of Horace* 88, 101ff, 159, etc., and Reckford, *Horace* 16-17, 84, 110-111, etc.

⁷¹ Many of the individual poems of Book IV are themselves superb examples of Horace's ability to fuse opposites. To mention only a few examples, IV,2 professes Horace's inability to write a Pindaric poem, but the poem itself, especially its opening half, is extremely Pindaric (as are other poems in the book — e.g., IV,4: cf. Highbarger, *TAPA* 66 [1935] 242-243). IV,7 mingles joy over spring's return with sadness over human mortality, IV,10 and 13 mingle scorn and triumph with melancholy and empathy; IV,11 and 12 combine invitations to joyful parties with strong hints of sadness. On Horace's penchant for combining themes in individual poems, see Wili, *Horaz* 356ff; Norberg, *Emerita* 20 (1952) 96.

emotions into a cohesive whole, and the elaborate pattern of recurrent motifs which has been the subject of this article is a significant part of the design by which that fusion is accomplished.

Two final comments. First, a word about the implications of our study for the composition of Book IV. Whereas there have been critics who have felt that Book IV was a somewhat random collection of late imperial poems and earlier, previously rejected lighter pieces,⁷² scholars in recent years have increasingly come to the conclusion that the collection was conceived as a unit and its poems composed during one period, probably between 17 and 13 B.C.⁷³ Our demonstration that eight recurrent motifs run through the fifteen poems of the book and that these eight motifs behave in a remarkably consistent pattern, each being associated with the same three basic themes, can only be taken as further evidence for the essential unity of conception and composition of Book IV.⁷⁴

Second, a comment on the degree to which the elaborate pattern I have charted may be the result of conscious planning on Horace's part.

⁷² See, e.g., Port., *Philologus* 81 (1925-26) 428; C. M. Bowra, "Horace, *Odes* IV.12," *CR* 42 (1928) 167; E. K. Rand, "Horace by Heart," *Hermathena* 62 (1943) 7; Quinn, *Latin Explorations* 9 n. 2 and 11 n. 1 (IV.12 is "an early poem, revived for inclusion in Book IV").

⁷³ Wili, *Horaz* 354; Becker, *Spätwerk des Horaz* 190; Moritz, *G&R* 16 (1969) 188-189. Fraenkel, *Horace* 364 and 400, suggests that it was the success of the *Carmen Saeculare* which led Horace to return to lyric poetry, a suggestion which presupposes that most if not all of the poems of the book date from after 17 B.C. (cf. also Fraenkel's comments, p. 410, on the inner coherence of Book IV). C. Franke, *Fasti Horatiani* (Berlin 1839) 223, argued for the same basic proposition as these scholars: *nec ullum huius libri carmen ante a. 737 scriptum esse aut probabile sit, aut argumentis certo possit evinci.*

⁷⁴ This article deals only with eight major motifs; other, minor motifs are handled in a similarly controlled fashion (for examples, see above, on the astronomical motifs; also nn. 39, 40, 42, 55, 56, etc.). One further "minor" motif also deserves mention — that of return. Motifs of returning are used in several poems, and in the book as a whole they exhibit the same three thematic directions found in the other motifs. The anticipated return of Augustus to Rome is a major theme in IV.2 and 5, and in several poems of the book the Augustan age is portrayed as a return to the *mores* of early Rome (see especially IV.5 and 15, and cf. IV.2,39-40). The return motif is clearly associated also with the themes of *time's passing* (the season of spring returns, man's springtime does not: see IV.7, *passim*; 10,8; 13,13-16; etc.) and *poetry* (in poetry alone can man's life return: IV.8,13ff; 9,1ff; etc.). The return motif in Book IV is emphasized by the use throughout the book of *re-* compounds: see Fraenkel, *Horace* 450-451 (*re-* compounds in IV.15); Commager, *Odes of Horace* 279 (*re-* compounds in IV.7); Dyer, *G&R* 12 (1965) 279-284 (on the idea of return throughout Book IV).

It is entirely unlikely that Horace sat down in 17 B.C. and planned a book of fifteen poems set in a structural arrangement of such complexity as those which recent scholars have suggested.⁷⁵ It is still less likely that from the start he planned the discontinuous pattern of motifs in the organized form in which I have charted it in this article. It is quite probable, on the other hand, that he was consciously working throughout the period 17-13 B.C. with certain related ideas, themes, and motifs and that as the work progressed these became more clear-cut in his mind; and it does seem that he wrote with some consideration for the final form of the book as a whole and that in assembling it he tried to use its structure to heighten the interplay of themes. That such a use of recurrent images as the striking balance of the river similes of IV,2 and 14 is unintentional seems highly improbable, especially in the light of the parallel balance between the river motifs in I,2 and III,29. Likewise, that so consistent a pattern as I have charted can be wholly without intention seems similarly improbable. In addition, we should remember that Horace is a poet who always places great emphasis on careful craftsmanship,⁷⁶ not least of all in this very book:

ego apis Matinae
more modoque

grata carpentis thyma per laborem
plurimum circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
carmina fingo.

(2,27-32)

If the poems in Book IV do indeed date from the years 17-13 B.C., Horace had a period of some four years to spend on the 582 lines of these fifteen poems, an average of less than half a line per day (cf. the familiar example of Vergil's slow rate of composition in the *Georgics* — approximately one line a day). This would give Horace ample time not only to polish the individual poems but also to work the total collection into a coherent whole. Judging by the evidence of this study,

⁷⁵ See, e.g., Port, *Philologus* 81 (1925-26) 427-435; Ludwig, *MH* 18 (1961) 1-10; Becker, *Spätwerk des Horaz* 191; cf. Fraenkel's comment, above, n. 9.

⁷⁶ On Horace's emphasis on *labor*, see especially Commager, *Odes of Horace* 42ff, and Troxler-Keller, *Dichterlandschaft des Horaz* 154. Along with most modern scholars, I take *plurimum* in IV,2,30 with *laborem* rather than with *nemus*.

Horace devoted much of his *plurimus labor* in these *operosa carmina* to shaping and refining the pattern of motifs which so contributes to the unity and thematic character of the collection.⁷⁷

CARLETON COLLEGE

⁷⁷ It may be worth mentioning that the complexities of the motif pattern we have found in Book IV pale beside the infinitely greater, and clearly intentional, intricacies of modern works like Joyce's *Ulysses* or Eliot's *Wasteland*.

THE SECOND BOOK OF PROPERTIUS

O. SKUTSCH

ONE of the greatest disservices was done to the text of Propertius," I read in Professor Gordon Williams's book *Tradition and Originality in Latin Poetry*, p. 480, "by proponents of another theory," meaning Lachmann's theory that Book II was a conflation of two books. Perhaps there is some rhetorical exaggeration here. A little inconvenience may be involved in referring from a text using Lachmann's division and numbering of books to modern texts, where the numbering of the manuscripts has been restored; but real damage there was none. Professor Williams, on the other hand, puts forward a theory which seems to me seriously to distort the picture of Propertius as an artist. Mesmerized perhaps by the fact that Horace published the first three books of the *Odes* all at once, he holds that the first three books of Propertius were published at one and the same time. But the first three books of Horace are uniform in technique; those of Propertius are not. A veritable chasm separates Book I from the others. As we all know, Propertius swerved sharply from the old free treatment of the pentameter ending to the Tibullan and Ovidian technique of employing only, or almost exclusively, iambic words at the end. He thus acknowledged that the old technique was inferior. Having made this admission, did he really care so little as to open his three-book edition with a poem in which the first pentameter ended with *cupidinibus*, the second with *pedibus*, and the third with *consilio*? The answer seems to me obvious, nor do I see how Propertius could possibly, if he published the three books together, have dedicated the first book to young Tullus, and only the second one to Maecenas. But I do see — and Professor Williams seems to have forgotten — that in II 24.1–2 Propertius says: *Tu loqueris cum sis iam noto fabula libro et tua sit toto Cynthia lecta foro*. That the Cynthia Book was published before Book II is an incontestable fact.

But what of Lachmann's theory? Does it really deserve the unreasonable scorn expressed by Professor Williams? It was of course called forth by the famous difficulty of the *tres libelli* in II 13.25f:

Part of a paper read to a colloquium in the Harvard classics department in December 1973.

sat mea, sat magna est si tres sint pompa libelli,
quos ego Persephoniae maxima dona feram.

Professor Williams's explanation that the poet was working on his three-book edition and thus could, even in Book II, have spoken of his three books was shown above to be based on an untenable premise. Nor do we need to waste time and space on the refutation of abstruse ideas on three as a mystic, magic, or round figure. Propertius feels, or pretends that he feels, death approaching. He wants no elaborate arrangements for his funeral, no trumpets, no platters of incense: only his books are to be carried with him to the grave. His books, the books he has written: they are to replace all the other apparatus. What would "no more than three books" (as in *tres rugae subeant* or *tribus uerbis te uolo*) mean here? Were three really so few as opposed to the number he might have written in a longer life? And would he really say *tres*, in whatever sense, if he knew very well that there were only two? No, Lachmann's theory that the second half of Book II was the third book obviously offers what is the easiest and the most natural interpretation of the *tres libelli*.

Lachmann used other arguments as well: he found, for instance, a development in the relationship between Propertius and Cynthia reflected in a difference between the poems of the first half and the second half of Book II. That argument must be dismissed as subjective. We now know that it is next to impossible to trace the course of a love affair in a poet's effusions, and that what may be an emotional truth is not necessarily an actual truth.

Subjective also is the decision as to whether or not II 10 is a poem suitable to open the third book. Lachmann thought it was; the majority of scholars nowadays deny it. In my opinion a poem announcing that it is time to turn to warlike poetry is more likely to stand at the beginning than in the middle of a book, even if in the end the poet declares that the time has not quite come yet. However, this is mere opinion. A concrete argument, on the other hand, raised by the opponents of Lachmann's theory must be briefly dismissed. It is argued that a book cannot begin with *sed*, and II 10 begins:

Sed tempus lustrare aliis Heliconae choreis
et campum Haemonio iam dare tempus equo.

I have never been able to see why, if a poem can begin with *sed*, a book cannot. But above all, Lachmann's critics seem to have forgotten that ἀλλά is a standard beginning of the Greek hortatory elegy: Tyrt. 7: ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε; Tyrt. 8: ἀλλ' — Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ . . . — θαρσύνετε.

Obviously here the exhortation to let the warhorse prance over the plain is introduced by a *sed* corresponding to the Greek ἀλλά.

Lachmann's theory is further supported, though not perhaps decisively, by the number of lines in Book II: 1362 lines, as opposed to 706 in Book I, 990 in Book III, and 952 in Book IV. It must be admitted that we have similar differences in Horace's *Odes*: 876 lines in Book I, 572 in Book II, and 1014 in Book III, nearly twice as many as in Book II. But Propertius II also seems rather too long for a book of its kind. There are, it is true, 1457 lines in Lucretius Book V. But there is a difference between a didactic poem and a poem which the author wants a girl to use as bedside reading while waiting for her lover (III 3.19f).

The arguments mentioned here and Lachmann's enormous reputation combined to secure almost universal acceptance for his view in the decades following the publication of his text. In the last third of the nineteenth century, however, a reaction set in, culminating in the slighting words cited above from Gordon Williams's book. What did more than anything else to provoke this reaction was a citation in Nonius, p. 169.32. Nonius there cites III 21.14 and says: *Propertius in libro III*. If Lachmann's theory, unmodified, were correct he should have said: *in libro IIII*. Lindsay actually prints IIII and has no note in the apparatus. In fact, however, only one manuscript, the Leidensis *L*, has IIII: all the others have III, and B. L. Ullman, *CP* 4 (1909) 45ff, has shown beyond a doubt that III was the archetypal reading. A point mentioned by him in passing deserves to be stressed: IIII is far more often wrongly written for III than III for IIII.¹ This is what you would expect. A scribe faced with four minims in a row is struck by that great number and is not likely to reduce it. Faced with three minims he has no such psychological warning against adding another.

Thus Nonius' citation seemed to prove Lachmann wrong. Soon, however, what appeared to be the undoing of his theory turned out to be its most brilliant confirmation. T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen* (1882) 422ff, pointed out that our Book I is not called *Liber primus* in the manuscripts² but *Monobiblos*, and is so referred to also by Martial, 14.189. If our Book I was a *Monobiblos* it cannot have been

¹ In Book II of Nonius Ullman found 22 instances of III and IV interchanged: 5 times III was written for IIII, 17 times IIII for III.

² The defenders of the transmitted book division insist that the Neapolitanus does not say *Monobiblos*, and that this circumstance proves the superscription in the other manuscripts to be late and based on Martial's epigram. They forget that the Neapolitanus does not use headings for any of the books. Had it not omitted all the headings we should almost certainly read *Monobiblos* over Book I.

Book I of the original collection of Propertius' work. That collection began with a book dedicated to Maecenas, and the present Book II must have been I and II. Only thus are the superscriptions of Book III and IIII correct, and that they are correct is borne out by the citation of Nonius.

Birt made another important observation (p. 425): twelve different passages of Propertius are adduced by grammarians, and not one of them belongs to Book I. There are seven from Book II, three from Book III, and two from Book IV. For the detail I may refer to Ullman's paper, pp. 47ff, where the matter is discussed at length. Birt and Ullman saw in this fact striking confirmation of their view that the Cynthia book did not form part of the *Corpus Propertianum* as used by the grammarians.³ Not so Professor Enk.⁴ In his opinion that distribution of citations indicates no more than that Book II was more popular than the others and was therefore read more frequently and more carefully by the grammarians. It would seem, then, that the Cynthia Book was the least popular. Is that why it was given as an *apophoreton*? And did *toto Cynthia lecta foro* really lose her appeal in a later period? Enk has failed to take into account the habits of the grammarians. They do not quote a book more often because it is more popular: in going through a text they quote the first book most frequently, and the number of quotations declines steadily as they proceed. The index of Keil's *Grammatici Latini* reveals this most clearly: for the *Aeneid* it has 9 columns of citations from Book I; 6 from Book II; a little more than 5 from Book III; a little less than 5 from Book IV (though St. Augustine wept); a little more than 4 from Book V; 5 from Book VI, a little more than 4 from Book VII; a little less than 4 from Book VIII; $3\frac{1}{2}$ from Book IX, etc. A few other examples: Horace *Odes*: Book I: 95 citations; II: 36; III: 33 (although III is much longer than II); IV: 15.⁵ Horace *Satires*: I: 43; II: 36. Horace *Epistles*: I: 28; II: 18. Lucretius: I: 25; II: 15; III: 14; IV: 3; V: 3; VI: 8. Lucan: I: 44; II: 43; III: 27; IV:

³ Ullman is unduly concerned about a line from the *Monobiblos* alluded to on a wall in Pompeii (CIL IV.1520: *candida me docuit nigras odisse puellas*; Prop. 1.1.5: *donec me docuit castas odisse puellas*). It is indeed possible to deny that there is an allusion. But we are concerned with the edition used by the grammarians. However popular the *Monobiblos* may have been, it does not follow that it formed part of that edition.

⁴ *Propertii elegiarum liber primus*, p. 27.

⁵ The figure for Book I is unduly swollen by the fact that, where they talk about meter, grammarians like to cite the first example of the meter in question. But even if allowance is made for that, Book I still shows by far the largest number of citations.

23; V: 27; VI: 20; VII: 17; VIII: 16; IX: 14; X: 13. Occasionally there is a slight deviation, as when Statius' *Thebaid* is represented thus: I: 11; II: 14; III: 9; IV: 14. But we never find anything as spectacular as that a first book is never cited, and the subsequent books 12 times. This allows of one explanation only: the text of Propertius excerpted by the grammarians did not begin with the Cynthia Book but with our Book II, and our Book II must therefore be a conflation of the original books I and II.

This is the point I thought it necessary to establish; it was made very briefly in a footnote by a student of mine, Alan Woolley, in *BICS* 14 (1967) 83 n. 5. From here further research will have to begin. What seems to have happened is this: at a comparatively late stage the Cynthia Book was prefixed to the *Corpus Propertianum*. The first book of the *Corpus*, which could now no longer be called *Liber primus*, was called *Liber secundus*, was telescoped with the second book, and the two together became *Liber secundus*. The detail of this catastrophe remains to be elucidated. In order to fill up his putative Book II, which comprised only poems 1-9, Lachmann assumed that much had been lost; but the evidence for great textual loss is not compelling. If poem 10 really was the beginning of the new book it may well be that some of the material following it belonged to the original Book I. For instance, poem 24, *Tu loqueris cum sis iam noto fabula libro*, would more naturally have its place in the first book written after the Cynthia Book. Not that the assumption is necessary: the two books represented by our Book II may well have been published together (so Birt, p. 425 n. 1), in which case poem 24 would not be out of place. But, however that may be, it is conceded on all hands that there is something wrong with our Book II: it has curious splinters of poems in it; it constantly runs together poems which do not belong together; and interpolations have been assumed by leading scholars, who, though they may perhaps have insisted too much on logical cohesion in a poet like Propertius, yet seem to have made a case here and there that a piece of poetry just does not fit where it is transmitted. All this, I believe, finds its explanation in the telescoping of the original Books I and II of the text of Propertius.

LONDON

THE *CULEX* AND *MORETUM* AS POST-AUGUSTAN LITERARY PARODIES

DAVID O. ROSS, JR.

LITERARY parody in Latin is a sadly neglected subject.¹ The practice and theory of parody in Greek literature has received considerable attention, but so little has been written on Latin parody that it would be natural to conclude that the Romans, with their usual gravity, were either ignorant of, or not attracted by, this form of literary playfulness.² The silence of the Romans themselves, however, and even the fact that no native word for "parody" existed, will not explain why modern scholars have shown so little interest in Latin literary parody:³ parody of religious, legal, civil, military, and rhetorical forms and language are well known in a diversity of Latin writers, and certainly enough has been written on Plautus' use of tragic or epic diction, or on Lucilius' use of Ennius, or on Varronian satire, to suggest that

¹ A version of this paper, dealing with the *Culex*, was read at a colloquium on Latin narrative poetry held in honor of Berthe Marti at Chapel Hill, N.C., on March 30, 1974; I am indebted to comments offered then, and to the helpful criticism of Edward Spofford.

² For a good review of modern scholarship on ancient parody, see H. Kleinkecht, *Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike*, Tübinger Beiträge 28 (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1937) 10-17. More recently, see F. Householder, "*ΠΑΡΩΔΙΑ*," *CP* 39 (1944) 1-9, a model lexicographical study; P. Lelièvre, "The Basis of Ancient Parody," *G&R* n.s. 1 (1954) 66-81. G. Lee, *Allusion, Parody, and Imitation* (Hull, 1971), has little on parody as such. J.-P. Cèbe, *La caricature et la parodie dans le monde romain antique* (Paris, 1966), has disappointingly little in its 379 pages of text on literary parody in the poets (only the rather mechanical observations on pp. 284-335).

The articles in the revised *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1970) do not misrepresent the situation: Denniston and Dover devote slightly more than two informative columns to "Parody, Greek (*παρωδία*)," whereas Fordyce fills barely a third of a column on "Parody, Latin," in which he mentions only sporadic examples in comedy, "some lines of Lucilius," "some parts of the poem on the Civil War" in Petronius, *Catalepton* 10, and the lines parodying Virgil's *Eclogues* preserved in Donatus' life.

³ See Cèbe (above, n. 2) 10-11. Cicero (*De Or.* 2.64.257) paraphrases to represent the idea, Quintilian (6.3.97, 9.2.35) uses the Greek words. *Parodia* (according to Lewis and Short) occurs only in ps.-Ascon. *Verr.* 1.10.29.

although the Romans theorized little on the subject of parody, they knew and practiced it with delight. It would be natural to suppose, too, that in a literature so derivative and conventional there would be a place for making fun of the artificiality of the conventions, for literary parody exists usually only when a genre or form has become sterile or exhausted.⁴ A study collecting and describing parody of form and style by the Latin poets is long overdue.

In what follows I will present a case for reading two poems, the *Culex* and the *Moretum* of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, as parodies. Two difficulties should be mentioned here at the beginning. The first, which I will avoid, concerns an acceptable definition of parody (as opposed to pastiche, or to caricature or burlesque). There are good (in that they are useful and often historically justified in various periods of modern practice) definitions and categories of comic poetry which could be made to serve, but there is such confusion in the use of the usual terms that any definition of parody needs to be qualified at length. Since Roman theory on the subject did not exist (and since even Greek grammarians and scholiasts seem to have had only a vague feeling for, rather than a precise understanding of, what parody was), the matter of definition may best be passed over in silence. What I am concerned with here is simply the humorous use made by the poets of the *Culex* and *Moretum* of a poetic style that had become hackneyed or debased in the hands of contemporary poetasters — the demonstration of what was bad in poetry by reproducing its characteristics and excesses. I will, however, try to draw a distinction between this sort of parody and what can be called simply mock heroic.

The second difficulty, which cannot be avoided but must remain unsolved, is all too obvious: how one recognizes a parody of this sort from its original — bad versifying. It is one thing, for instance, to appreciate and feel comfortable with Catullus' parody of the prayer (hymn) form in 36.11-17, or with Horace's brief parodic suggestion of epic as the town and country mice approach the walls of the great city (*Sat.* 2.6.100-101, *iamque tenebat / nox medium caeli spatium*); it is quite another thing to be able to demonstrate, or often even to feel with complete conviction, that a passage in a poem such as the *Culex* is awkward, stilted, or bad because it intentionally reproduces the faults of bad versifying for the purpose of parody, whereas a similar passage

⁴ Because literary forms and genres at Rome were imported ready-made, parody can appear sometimes almost contemporaneously with the original: Catullus, for instance, can parody his own serious use of the hymn form (e.g., 36.11-17).

from, say, the *Ciris* is just plain deficient in taste or grace. Though I hope to be able to get close to a demonstration that the *Culex* and *Moretum* are parodies, it is only fair to warn a reader favorably predisposed to this idea that a great deal inevitably depends on subjective reading, and inevitably more than a little will remain to trouble an open mind.

THE *CULEX*

What G. Jachmann in 1928 called "das tief beschämende *Culex*-Kapitel der Philologie" still remains a source of depression.⁵ Though the ranks of supporters of Virgilian authorship have grown thinner (among the champions in this century were Mackail, Kroll, Warde Fowler, Rand, Frank, Lindsay, Bowra, Wagenvoort, Rostagni, Herrmann, and Mendell), there are still those who would not deny that the poem is Virgil's.⁶ It is not my purpose to argue the question here,⁷

⁵ *Gnomon* 4 (1928) 583.

⁶ See now the thorough review of the question of authorship by D. Güntzschel, *Beiträge zur Datierung des Culex*, *Orbis Antiquus* 27 (Münster, 1972), with the useful "Chronologische Übersichtstabelle," pp. 241-257.

⁷ Güntzschel's review seems just about definitive. As Fraenkel remarked (*JRS* 42 [1952] 1), "More than enough has been written on this subject to guide those who know an argument when they see it," but I would like to make three abbreviated observations which still seem to me necessary. (1) The ancient "evidence" for Virgilian authorship (the most important being Stat. *Silv.* praef. 1, 2.7.73-74; Mart. 8.56.19-20, 14.185; Suet. *Vita Luc.* p. 50 Reifferscheid; Don. *Vita Verg.* 18 Hardie) seems utterly worthless in the face of contemporary silence (e.g., Prop. 2.34.61-78, Ovid *Am.* 1.15.25-26, and even Virgil's own, *Geo.* 4.565-566) and the independent scholarly tradition denying anything prior to the *Eclogues* (Serv. on *Ecl.* 9.18; cf. Macr. 5.17.20); arguments for authenticity based on such evidence have no validity whatsoever. (2) Arguments based on style (vocabulary, meter) must be used cautiously. Very little in the mass of such studies has any real relevance; for example, G. Duckworth's recent studies of spondee-dactyl distribution in the first four feet in the Latin hexameter poets (collected as *Virgil and Classical Hexameter Poetry* [Ann Arbor, 1969] pp. 81-83 on the *Culex*) must be regarded as entirely inconclusive, since there is no reason a later poet could not have produced the similarities Duckworth finds. On the other hand, attention must be paid to such meaningful and decisive features as the absence from the *Culex* of the form *neque* (*nec* 16 times): see B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund, 1945) 118; K. Büchner, *RE* 8.A.1 (1955) 1103; W. Clausen (on the *Ciris*), *CP* 59 (1964) 99-100; Güntzschel (above, n. 6) 32-34. (3) That the *Culex* could only have been written after a particular stage in the development of Augustan poetics does not seem to have been recognized as a telling argument. Virgil in his youth could never have employed the fully developed complex of poetic clichés found in lines

but what does concern me is the fact that many of those who have seen the poem as Virgil's cannot be accused of deficient learning or want of insight. Judgments on the quality of the poem, from antiquity to the present, are bound to be connected to some extent with the question of authorship: one cannot, after all, allow Virgil to have written a horrendously bad poem; and conversely, if we decide for any one of a number of reasons that Virgil was the author, we cannot see the poem as anything less than a rather nice, though perhaps somewhat immature, little piece. Yet the admiration for the *Culex* of a number of respected modern scholars seems genuine, even at times extravagant. Scaliger disagreed with the ancient testimonia only in seeing the poem as a work of Virgil's maturity. For Lucan, Statius, and Martial there could have been nothing inherently or strikingly distasteful or offensive in its style, presentation, or content. What then are we to think of those who since the seventeenth century have found the poem tawdry, inelegant rubbish?⁸ Housman's verdict is well known,⁹ with which Fraenkel would seem to agree;¹⁰ and Clausen has called the author "a bad poet but a good metrist," referring to his "feeble imagination" and his "ineptitude and slovenliness."¹¹ Many others have held similar opinions no less emphatically expressed.

There may be, strangely enough, real substance in the opposition of these evaluations: in this case those who admire the poem and those who find it bad may both be right. Some good scholars, like Fraenkel,

1-10, 35-36 (discussed below), and much else in the poem cannot anticipate, but must depend on or derive from, post-Augustan mannerisms.

A. Barrett, the most recent pro-Virgilian ("The Authorship of the *Culex*: An Evaluation of the Evidence," *Latomus* 29 [1970] 348-362), finds the external evidence decisive, is properly critical of a few stylistic arguments but ignores what does have relevance, and nowhere considers the place of the poem in the development of Latin poetry.

⁸ The tone was set by Ruæus in 1675 (the first to question Virgilian authorship): "[puto] *insulsum illum Culicem . . . ab inepto aliquo posteriorum aetatum scriptore fictum esse*."

⁹ "The authors of the *Culex* and *Ciris* and *Aetna* were mediocre poets, and worse; and the gods and men and booksellers whom they affronted by existing allotted them for transcription to worse than mediocre scribes. The *Ciris* was indited by a twaddler, the *Culex* and *Aetna* by stutterers . . .," *CR* 16 (1902) 339 = *Classical Papers* 2 (Cambridge, 1972) 563.

¹⁰ "The *Culex*," *JRS* 42 (1952) 1-9 = *Kleine Beiträge* 2, pp. 181-197: though he never actually says so and though he finds touches to admire, his discussion of the poem leads to the conclusion that he would place it among the poems of the *Appendix* that "show bungling versifiers at their worst."

¹¹ "The Textual Tradition of the *Culex*," *HSCP* 68 (1964) 119-138.

have admitted finding the *Culex* at the same time both attractive and repellent, its style and manner both contorted and stilted, artful and elegant.¹² Leo, for instance, who confessed that he had been drawn to editing the *Culex* not by the *virtus poetae* (though he saw more to praise, he says, than the scorn of critics usually conceded) but by the difficulty and *proprietas* of the diction, continually pointed in his commentary to both the artistry and the incompetence of the poet, "*auctor ut erat inops verborum laboriosissime verba elegit, audacissime composuit, artificiose figuravit.*"¹³ If the *Culex* is the sort of parody I think it is, then good and bad will inevitably be found in it side by side. We can begin by looking at the broadest outlines of its narrative and structure.

One-tenth of the entire poem (41 lines) is devoted to its introduction, itself neatly divided into three parts: ten lines of proem; thirteen of invocation to Apollo, the Naiads as muses, and Pales; and finally eighteen lines of address to Octavius. I will return to some of the details of this opening later.

When the curtain finally does rise, we applaud the scene and the ingenuity of the lighting.¹⁴

igneus aetherias iam sol penetrabat in arces
candidaque aurato quatiebat lumina curru,
crinibus et roseis tenebras Aurora fugarat.

(42-44)

Simply, it is sunrise, but a sunrise of spectacular color, as Leo appreciatively noted ("*observamus hic et aliis locis (cf. 106) curiosam in depingendis coloribus diligentiam*"). Enter shepherd, driving flock to morning pasture. Are we to understand that he is a very poor shepherd, or rather that the poet's imagination has run as wild as the flock? In any case, a vast panorama lies spread before us, forests and thickets, valleys, bare mountain peaks, streams, and goats everywhere.¹⁵ Perhaps the shepherd is at fault: *o bona pastoris* . . . ; as the flock scatters, he stands, leaning on his staff, lost in edifying reflection for 40 lines.¹⁶ Among the joys of

¹² E.g., O. Skutsch, *CR* 68 n.s. 4 (1954) 99, noting that the *Culex* "combines elegance of invention with monotony and silliness of execution."

¹³ *Culex* (Berlin, 1891) 21.

¹⁴ I cite Clausen's text of the *Culex*, Kenney's of the *Moretum*, from the O.C.T. *Appendix Vergiliana* (Oxford, 1966).

¹⁵ Note, however, the elegance of composition: after the temporal ecphrasis of 3 lines, the section is composed of 3 periods of 3 lines each (45-53), followed by a summary period of 4 lines.

¹⁶ On the neat parallel structure of this section (58-78, 79-97), see O. Skutsch,

rustic life, *we* may include blissful ignorance of meditation on such themes as these. Curtain, end of Act I.

Curtain rises for Act II, revealing shepherd still on stage, and again we applaud the lighting:

tendit inevectus radios Hyperionis ardor
lucidaque aetherio ponit discrimina mundo,
qua iacit Oceanum flammās in utrumque rapaces.

(101-103)

It is now noon, and since our shepherd has been on his feet since dawn, and since he is obviously a student of the *Georgics*, he decides to drive his flock into the shade:¹⁷

iam medias operum partes evectus erat sol,
cum densas pastor pecudes cogebat in umbras.

(107-108)

Unfortunately, the grove he chooses not only has divine and mythological associations, but consists of a most unnatural variety of trees all with their own associations;¹⁸ finally, however, the weary goats recline and all is peace.

But not for long: enter serpent. Of all the snakes in ancient literature, this is by far the most horrid in appearance, fierce in spirit, and savage in its intentions: it is only right, then, that to it is devoted the longest (I think) description in ancient literature, the epic details and the exaggeration of which have often been noted, how it thunders its war cry and oozes drops of blood in its coiling course. The sleeping shepherd faces certain death, but salvation comes in the form of a gnat, *parvulus umoris alumnus*, which stings the shepherd somewhere in the region of his eye (just where is hard to discern) and for this thoughtful act finds itself squashed, sent to death, all its spirit scattered and its power of apprehension lost. But the shepherd pulls the sturdy trunk (*truncum*, contrary to the translators, nowhere else seems to mean a "branch") from a tree with one hand (his right) just in time (whether god or chance lent aid remains a question) to break the bones of the snake's forehead with repeated blows. Then, in the poet's most magnificent stroke of all, "when he saw it slain to languish, he — sat down"

HSCP 72 (1967) 309-310, but precisely this division had been previously noticed by L. Richardson, *Poetical Theory in Republican Rome* (New Haven, 1944) 74.

¹⁷ Note the composition of 98-108: shepherd reflecting (3 lines), temporal ephrasis (3 lines), shade sought (3 lines); summary (2 lines).

¹⁸ On the structure of the tree catalogue, see A. Barrett, *CW* 63 (1970) 230-232.

(*quem postquam vidit caesum languescere, sedit*, 201): he had, after all, been standing in uffish thought from dawn to midday.¹⁹

The curtain rises for Act III:

iam quatit et biiuges oriens Erebeis equos nox
et piger aurata procedit Vesper ab Oeta.

(202–203)

Shepherd and flock, after an eventful day, retire for the night, whose coming has just been so aptly described. *Effigies* of gnat appears to shepherd as he sleeps, like the ghost of Patroclus to Achilles, and —. But to tell more would serve no purpose. We have seen enough, how effectively the narrative has been organized in three acts, each introduced by the appropriate temporal ecphrasis, how effectively the parts of the whole have been organized and contrived. Our poet devoted careful attention, with an unerring sense of propriety, to the organization of his material; for (another) example, even the description of Diana's grove has been attentively framed: line 108 (just preceding), *cum densas pastor pecudes cogeabat in umbras*; line 157 (immediately following), *pastor ut ad fontem densa requievit in umbra . . .* We might note, too, that he was not ignorant of the subtleties of epic conventions of narrative: both digressions (on the joys of rustic life and on the grove) fill periods of inaction (the shepherd's morning, his afternoon nap), and the way they are stitched onto the narrative (*talibus in studiis . . .*, 98, and 157, cited just above) shows an awareness of the convention that in proper epic, continuity of time must not be broken.²⁰ Our poet is no literary ignoramus.

At this point we need to be more specific about the sort of parody the *Culex* is — or might be, for although this suggestion has been in the air since the late nineteenth century,²¹ it has been ignored by a great

¹⁹ On the structure of this episode, with remarks on its obviously parodic purpose, see Richardson (above, n. 16) 12 n. 7: "Could any completely serious artist have been ignorant of the comic effect produced when he devotes 19½ lines to an elaborate account of the snake's approach and follows the description with just 19½ lines more which tell of decision, act, and destruction of the *culex* and the killing of the snake? The balance of the whole main action of the story is nothing but a pompous and elegant purple passage."

²⁰ See, on this and the similar awareness of the convention in the *Moretum*, H. Reuschel, *Episches im Moretum und Culex*, Diss. Leipzig (Markkleeberg, 1935) 84–100.

²¹ See, e.g., F. Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte der Kön.-Bay. Akad. der Wiss.* (1907) 351–355: he notes (p. 354) that "diese Ironisierung der poetischen konventionellen Mittel, wie sie dann später wieder Petron reizvoll verwertet hat . . ." is Hellenistic.

majority of scholars.²² I know of no thorough exposition of the poem as parody. When the possibility is suggested, what is usually meant is "mock epic," the sort of poem Statius might have had in mind when he linked it with the *Battle of Mice and Frogs* (*praefatio* to *Silvae* I). Büchner, who is among the few who pay any attention to the poem as parody, concludes, "Thus the parody is superficial. It consists only in the incongruity between the material and the treatment"; and he, like most others, regards the poem, in the last analysis, as the sort of sentimental and artistic *Spielerei* attacked in Persius' first satire.²³ But Büchner's definition of the parodic in the *Culex* is inaccurate and deficient: what he describes is simply the mock heroic, the humor of which does lie in the disparity between the hero (whether frogs and mice, or a gnat, or any low-life figure) and the heroic setting and epic manner of presentation.

The parody of the *Culex*, however, goes far beyond its characters or situations. It is a parody of poetry, specifically of the style and manner of debased neoteric artificiality. L. Richardson made the point without, however, presenting the case: "If it is the parody I think it and to which no serious objection has yet been raised, it shows a rejection of the subject but not of the principle"; and "Against just such abuses of art [i.e., as committed by the *Ciris*] the spritely parody of the *Culex* must have been written, for it mimics with fine humor the flatulence and subjective emotionalism of poetry such as the *Ciris*."²⁴ Parodies of literary style may range from the grossly exaggerated to what is very close, in both subject and manner, to the original.²⁵ There are moments

²² Understandably almost all of those who accept Virgilian authorship never mention the possibility that the poem might be a parody, but the silence of so many anti-Virgilians is strange. Fraenkel, for instance, though his own plot summary reads as a parody, never considers the poem as such; and Güntzschel's exhaustive monograph never so much as mentions the word.

²³ "P. Vergilius Maro," *RE* 8.A.1 (1955) 1104: "So ist das Parodische äusserlich. Es besteht nur in dem Missverhältnis zwischen Gegenstand und Behandlung." In this section (on "Stil") Büchner does not admit that the *Culex* is a thorough parody of poetic styles, as Leo (above, n. 13) had suggested ("... hoc unum exemplum habemus tenuis et ludicrae materiae ad granditatem sonus heroici elatae cum imitatione epicae elocutionis... item doctrina quam ostentat poeta non minus quam implicatum et figuratum locutionis genus ad neotericorum poetarum affinitatem illum adiungit," p. 17). For Büchner, "Das Werk ist ein interessantes Zeugnis für die von Persius gerügte sentimentale und artistische Spielerei der tib.-claudischen Zeit" (p. 1108).

²⁴ Richardson (above, n. 16) 14, 168-169, and cf. his remarks cited above, n. 19; but I am not sure what Richardson means by "a rejection of the subject but not of the principle."

²⁵ A fine example of the exaggerated is A. E. Housman's parody on Jack

of real exaggeration in the *Culex* (as should be apparent from the outline of the narrative above), but there are also many passages which differ little from what an amateur versifier of the time might be expected to have produced. Given a parody of this sort, and given too our ignorance of the lost bulk of amateur verse and our superficial reaction to nuance of Latin style, it seems almost necessary that modern readers have seen the *Culex* as both good and bad, and that an ancient parody which departs minimally from its object may be mistaken as a serious example of the sort of work it parodies. And if it is so mistaken, it consequently will often be viewed as a rather poor job, and sometimes, too, as an intentional forgery.

If we try to define the object of our poet's parody, it should first be clear that no specific poet or poem is aimed at: Lucretius, Virgil, and Ovid are suggested by episodes or lines, as is well known, but not in such a way that one could say that they are being attacked. The object is far more general, nothing more specific than neoteric narrative technique. At this point a long digression might be useful, suggesting just how completely neoteric techniques dominated late and post-Augustan poetry, then detailing how much of the verse of the time has been lost. But it must be enough simply to point out that we know the names or existence of a great number of poets,²⁶ and that behind these known figures we can conjecture the existence of an army of amateur versifiers: think only (if I may jump through a century) of the nameless scribblers suggested by the *Priapea* collection, by Nero's contests, by Persius' and Juvenal's first satires, by such types as Statius' elegist friend Stella and by Tacitus' Maternus in his poetic withdrawal *in nemora et lucos*; and if we use these same sources, and many others like them, to draw inferences about the sort of verse that was being so incessantly composed, the same characteristics are apparent time and again — preciosities of style and technique deriving from the neoterics and their Augustan successors. Poetry had become a game at which any number could play, the rules of which were easily mastered. I can imagine the *Culex*, then, being aimed at such productions: if it is late Tiberian in date (as I suspect for no really compelling reasons),²⁷ then

and Jill (in L. Housman, *My Brother, A. E. Housman* [New York, 1938] 246–247), and of that which closely reproduces the characteristics of its original, much of Max Beerbohm's *A Christmas Garland*.

²⁶ Glance, e.g., at H. Bardon's survey, *La littérature latine inconnue 2* (Paris, 1956).

²⁷ Considering its purpose as parody, I would date it as late as possible, but time must be allowed for it (circulating at first anonymously) to have come to be commonly accepted as Virgil's before Lucan's attestation of it as such.

it is one of the first of a long series of expressions of disgust with the state of poetry.

Let us look more closely now. Obviously it is a representative of that genre which for convenience we call the epyllion, the masterwork conscientiously produced by each of the first generation of neoterics, by Virgil as the last half of *Georgics* IV, by Ovid in a variety of disguises, by countless other contemporary and subsequent poetasters (of this I feel sure — *cui non dictus Hylas?*). Most characteristic of the narrative of epyllia is that nothing happens. Ask a five-year-old to tell you the story of the three little pigs: without wasting much time he will get to the destructions of the house of straw and the house of sticks, then immediately to the siege of the house of bricks; but probably most of his narrative will be taken up with the final scene of the wolf getting his just deserts in the pot of boiling water. Ask a neoteric poet for an epyllion on the same tale, and he will present you, nine years later, with some fifty lines of architectural drawings of the house of bricks, a lengthy digression (beginning *nam perhibent olim . . .*) on the ancestry and forgotten exploits of Little Red Riding Hood's wolf, in which he might, but probably won't, disclose its fate (we would dignify this digression by calling it a panel within a panel); the pig's wolf would then be dispatched in three lines, and the last two hundred lines of the epyllion would be occupied by a description of the grove in which offerings of thanks were made by the third pig and how this was the origin of the subsequent annual festival at the site.

We have already seen what happens (or rather doesn't happen) in the *Culex*. It takes almost the entire first half of the poem for the shepherd to drive his flock to pasture, then to their midday siesta, between which intervals of action the shepherd stands thinking, or forgotten; note too that when the real scene of action does come, most of it is devoted to the description of the snake, only a few lines to the actual combat. But that we should be laughing with this narrative, rather than at it, seems to be indicated by that final line of the episode (201), commenting directly on this whole tradition of narrative: *quem postquam vidit caesum languescere, sedit*. Now either this line is illustrative of our poet's almost incredible incompetence, stolidity, and lack of vitality and imagination, or it is alive with wit and perceptivity. There are definite signs that he was neither so unaware nor inept.

The poet's mannered temporal ecphrases, by which the poem is divided into its three acts, offers another focus for the question, incompetence or intentional parody? The tradition behind such lines extends of course from Homer to Virgil's epic, but it was left to the

poets of the empire to attain the heights of stilted extravagance in this as in so much else.²⁸ I offer only one example, but my favorite, looking ahead to the ripeness of the rococo, to Statius, a versifier without a trace of originality or wit, unless I seriously misunderstand him. *Silvae* 3.1, after a false start of fifty lines, begins again:

tempus erat caeli cum torrentissimus axis
incumbit terris ictusque Hyperione multo
acer anhelantis incendit Sirius agros.

(3.1.52-54)

That is, it is midsummer. Six similar lines follow, learnedly specifying the exact date, August 13. Anyone but Statius might have known better, for this sort of thing had been a source of ridicule for some time. The author of the *Apocolocyntosis*, no mean poet, had parodied the device as it deserved: six perfect hexameters (*iam Phoebus brevior via contraxerat orbem / lucis . . .*, 2) are explained prosaically by the poet himself, *puto magis intellegi si dixerō: mensis erat October, dies III. idus Octobris*. Yet he is not content with this: "*nimis rustice*" inquires "*cum omnes poetae, non contenti ortus et occasus describere, etiam medium diem inquietent, tu sic transibis horam tam bonam?*"²⁹ Accepting the challenge, he adds three more equally perfect hexameters, crowning his achievement with a Golden Line:

iam medium curru Phoebus diviserat orbem
et propior nocti fessas quatiebat habenas
obliquo flexam deducens tramite lucem.

We should note that not only are these lines obviously parodic (the author's comments make this certain), but they are exactly the sort of parody I am suggesting for the *Culex*: they ridicule a style (rather than a specific poet), and they closely reproduce (rather than exaggerate) the characteristics of their object, so much so that they could be slipped into any number of Silver Latin poems without causing an editor a moment's hesitation as to their propriety. The *Moretum*, a far more elegant and quiet parody than the *Culex*, opens with a temporal ecphrasis of two lines:

²⁸ For a good collection of "Tageszeiten im Epos," with some good observations, see Reuschel (above, n. 20) 43-57.

²⁹ Commentators seem to have overlooked this author's accuracy: Reuschel (above, n. 20) 55 notes that Ovid added noon to ecphrases of morning, evening, and night ("Bezeichnend ist es, dass die Schilderung des Mittags häufiger [in Ovid] wird, was alle Dichter vor ihm mieden").

iam nox hibernas bis quinque peregerat horas
excubitorque diem cantu praedixerat ales.³⁰

There can be no doubt that by the time the *Apocolocyntosis* was written, the triteness of the temporal ecphrasis was obvious to all (or almost all) and that it had reached a stylized perfection.³¹ The question to be answered is whether in the *Culex* the elaborate use made of the device contributed to the tedium and preciousity ridiculed in the *Apocolocyntosis* and *Moretum*, or whether these curtain-raising lines are not rather themselves a demonstration of the ridiculous.

Other aspects of the poet's technique may be included conveniently under the heading "Learning." Here again I will produce just a few samples, but if there is one area in which both the supporters and detractors of the poem agree, it is that the author of the *Culex* was a learned man, and displays of his erudition are frequent. Consider first lines 11-17, the invocation to Apollo. Stylistically, these lines cannot be faulted — if anything, they are too perfect. The poet opens with a line of swelling sonority, a noun of address with an appositive (*Latoniae magnique Iovis decus, aurea proles*, 11); then comes — no less splendidly echoing but so obviously hollow — the triplet, "Phoebus will be my song's *princeps* . . . *et auctor* . . . *et fautor*" (*Phoebus erit nostri princeps et carminis auctor / et recinente lyra fautor*, 12-13). Comparison with the *Apocolocyntosis* may again help us to appreciate the inanity of this statement; there two hexameters are devoted to Lachesis' imperial hairdo:

at Lachesis redimita comas, ornata capillos,
Pieria crinem lauro frontemque coronans.

(4.3-4)

The tricolon (*redimita . . . ornata . . . coronans*) exhausts the reader, as the four accusatives (*comas, capillos, crinem . . . frontemque*) exhaust

³⁰ Note also the periphrasis *hibernas horas*, the epic *bis quinque* for *decem* (artificial, as *decem* can be used in hexameters), and the splendid *excubitor ales* for the unpoetic *gallus*.

³¹ Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 122.11-13 is important as a rare insight into amateur versifying. Seneca relates how Julius Montanus, a *tolerabilis poeta* at the time of Tiberius, *ortus et occasus libentissime inserebat*, of which examples are given (6 good lines): even then the temporal ecphrasis could produce a laugh (as Pinarius Natta's bon mot, *paratus sum illum audire ab ortu ad occasum*, and other jokes at the expense of Acilius Buta). Horace had used the device for what is essentially parody in the "Journey to Brundisium," *Sat.* 1.5.9-10 (*iam nox . . .*) and 39 (*postera lux oritur . . .*), and *Sat.* 2.6.100-101 (cited by Reuschel [above n. 20] 56).

the poetic vocabulary. This comparison is of some help, but is certainly no proof that the *Culex* triplet *princeps . . . auctor . . . fautor* is therefore also parody, rather than empty versifying.³²

What follows at this point in the invocation is predictable and inevitable: the geography is again a tricolon, with the necessary anaphora *sive . . . seu . . . seu . . .* (13–17). The first stop on this tour is *recherché* in the extreme, the second elegantly literary, and the third (and longest) blatantly obvious. It is not surprising that the manuscript tradition has garbled and lost the first two place names. *Arna*, brilliantly restored by Haupt,³³ is the Lycian name of a Lycian city — this bit of lore was in itself sufficient grounds for our poet to include it in his catalogue in order to designate the Lycian Apollo (*Ἀπόλλων . . . ὁ Λύκιος*); we owe this information to Stephan of Byzantium, who also tells us that the city Arna was renamed in Greek “Xanthus,” and sure enough, the poet indicates this as well in a learnedly devious manner (*sive educat illum | Arna Chimaeraeo Xanthi perfusa liquore*); and the epithet *Chimaeraeo* is another gratuitously learned touch, referring either to the Lycian mountain, or to the beast, or to both. In the next line *decus Asteriae*, as any neoteric poet would know from Callimachus’ *Fourth Hymn*, stands for the Delian Apollo: as Callimachus tells us directly, “Asterie was the ancient name [for Delos]” (*οὐνομα δ’ ἦν τοι / Ἀστερίη τὸ παλαιόν*, 36–37) — precisely that sort of learning our poet has produced for himself in the case of Arna-Xanthus. The Delphic Apollo then rounds out the triad. It must have been gratifying for the poet to read over these lines; of the three major Apollos of his time, only the provenance of the last is obvious at first sight.

The poet’s learning obtrudes in the passage on Diana’s grove, if anywhere, but I will linger there only long enough to pose the question again: do we have here an impossibly bad poem, or a splendid parody? No sooner has the shepherd caught sight of his sheep resting in the grove (*ut procul aspexit . . .*, 109), than all poetic hell breaks loose. “In your grove, Delian goddess,” says the poet, laying on for the occasion a neoteric apostrophe. Not content with this, he proceeds to lose himself in a rhetorical anacolouthon, so overcome is he with the

³² On the rhetorical tricolon in imperial writers, see E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898) 289–290, and recently J. Adams, *CQ* 66 (1972) 354: the *locus classicus* is Sen. *Contr.* 9.2.27, who quotes an empty tricolon and then notes, *hanc ideo sententiam rettuli quia et in tricolis et in omnibus huius generis sententiis curamus ut numerus constet, non curamus an sensus*. The *Culex* makes considerable use of the tricolon and of 3-line periods (e.g., see above, nn. 15, 17).

³³ See *Opuscula* 3 (Leipzig, 1876) 63–65 for much else to the point.

horror of Cadmean Agave's historic (*quondam*, 110) appearance in the grove, fleeing Bacchus (designated by the rarest of epithets as a substantive, the Greek *Nyctelius*), still gory with her son's blood. Five lines of bloody horror, but when the poet picks up a new grammatical thread, the grove is the scene of Satyrs, Dryad girls, and Naiads, all delighting in Diana's arrival (again a neoteric apostrophe, in case we nodded through the first) and pleasing her in turn with their dancing. In fact, not so much did Orpheus (*Oeagrius* — again, by the way, the tradition has lost the poet's learned and literary allusion to *Georgics* 4.524, *Oeagrius Hebrus*) charm the Hebrus (*non tantum Oeagrius Hebrum / restantem tenuit*, 117–118). Is the author of this digression so incompetent, even obtuse, that he did not see the silliness of the juxtaposition of bloody Agave and the joyfully dancing nymphs? or not to have recognized how gratuitous was his introduction of Orpheus? Is his technique really so stilted, or can we not feel rather that it becomes so outlandish just at those very moments (and in the very ways) when a neoteric versifier would be determinedly displaying his mastery of the proper narrative style? Finally, consider Horace's first illustration of his famous purple patch at the beginning of the *Ars poetica*: *cum lucus et ara Dianae / et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros / . . . describitur* (16–18), with which commentators have compared Persius' poets who are *nec ponere lucum / artifices* (1.70–71) and Juvenal's Grove of Mars, "more familiar to everyone than their own homes" (1.7–8). If the *Culex* poet is indeed parodying decadent neoteric versifying, what would be more essential than a grove, and what more appropriate for an appealingly inane display of elegant erudition?³⁴

At this point we are still in some uncertainty, for though we may feel from what we have seen thus far that the *Culex* is too bad to be true, we have not been able to offer more than a subjective reading of the poem as a parody — no real answer to those who will say that it is a typically bad poem. This is the difficulty, and though I cannot see how positive proof or demonstration can ever be produced, it might take us farther toward that ideal objective if we could be sure from certain clear signs that the poet (1) was too competent and knowing a writer to have been able to write this sort of rubbish with a straight face, and (2) knew his modern poetry and poetics thoroughly.

The poet's command of meter has long been recognized and even applauded. His versification is correct, almost perfect. Take, for in-

³⁴ For the ecphrasis of a grove in Hellenistic rhetoric, see Norden (above, n. 32) 285–286.

stance, the matter of elision. There are not quite fifty in all in the entire poem, which gives an average of only 12 elisions per 100 lines.³⁵ But this small number of elisions is even more remarkable in that one half of them are elisions of *-que* or *atque*, and seven more are prodelisions. Further, in the entire 414 lines of the poem there are only two elisions of diphthongs (lines 288 and 400), and no other textually certain elision of a long vowel; there are only a few instances of elision of *-m* (four in Plésent's text, six in Clausen's); and no elision of a monosyllable.³⁶ All elisions occur at acceptable positions in the line. Furthermore, certain passages, such as the reflections on rural happiness or Diana's grove, contain proportionally few elisions, as if the poet had taken special care not to mar the stylistic brilliance of these contrived passages. Why was our poet so abnormally, even fussily, reluctant to admit elision? Two related answers suggest themselves. Clearly restriction of elision was an artificiality, which must have been carried to an extreme by amateurs aiming at elegance in one of the few sure ways lack of talent would permit. There are notable examples: Calpurnius Siculus "yields . . . the abnormally low figure of 1.8 per cent,"³⁷ and the *Laus Pisonis* (261 lines) has only 1.6 per 100 lines.³⁸ Then, as I have mentioned elsewhere,³⁹ in our best parody of epic versifying, the 49 hexameters of the *Apocolocyntosis*, there occurs not a single elision; and we should note too that the *Moretum* allows elision only slightly more often (14.8 per 100 lines) than does the *Culex*.

I do not intend to argue that Calpurnius and the poet of the *Laus Pisonis*, being mediocre at best and perhaps representative of their kind, go to extremes in avoiding elision, that demonstrable parodies of

³⁵ Cf. the figures, given by E. Sturtevant and R. Kent, "Elision and Hiatus in Latin Prose and Verse," *TAPA* 46 (1915) 148: comedy, roughly 150 elisions per 100 lines; Lucil. 133; Lucr., 48; Virg. *Ecl.*, 28, *Aen.*, roughly 50; elegy, from 14 to 24; the *Ciris*, 45. Such statistics will inevitably vary; for instance, J. Soubiran (*L'élision dans la poésie latine* [Paris, 1966] 559-612), reporting the findings of others, gives for Lucr. 50.3, for *Aen.* 54.5.

³⁶ See C. Plésent, *Le Culex: étude sur l'alexandrinisme latin* (Paris, 1910) 416-417.

³⁷ E. Kenney, *CR* 85 n.s. 21 (1971) 202, correcting Sturtevant and Kent (3 per 100 lines).

³⁸ So Soubiran (above, n. 35) 588-589 ("L'effort du poète dépasse ici l'imagination"): of the four elisions, two are prodelisions with *est*, one is of *atque*, and the other the idiomatic *quare age*. In general, Silver Latin poets reduce elision: thus Ovid *Met.*, 21.1 per 100 lines, Lucan, 11.8 (Soubiran, p. 605, but cf. 560), and Juvenal, even in satire, is roughly comparable to Val., Sil., Stat, in epic, with 33 per 100 (Soubiran, pp. 607-608).

³⁹ *Style and Tradition in Catullus* (Cambridge, 1969) 120 n. 13.

the period reproduce this superficial elegance, and that therefore (Q.E.D.) the *Culex* is a parody, for this would be circular nonsense. My point is rather that the *Culex*, so often, is not mediocre but outrageous, and yet was composed by a master of meter. We find, in epigraphical verse, many instances of genuine poetic feeling which nevertheless reveal deficiencies (due to ignorance or an uneducated ear) of meter, and much bad verse is metrically naive and incompetent.⁴⁰ Conversely, though a good metrist may be wanting in feeling or power, he is not likely to be entirely without taste or formal elegance. It is inconceivable to me, therefore, that the poet of the *Culex*, with such a thorough knowledge, understanding, and even intuition in his technique could, at the same time, be capable of so much else so grotesquely bad.

Let me refer to one other stylistic feature in defense of our poet. Clausen has charged him with gross negligence: "It has been noticed more than once that the author of the *Culex* repeats himself; but the way in which he repeats himself is also remarkable. His imagination, being feeble, was easily dominated by words and phrases: in the space of a few verses he will repeat a word or several words two or three times; and he may use these words nowhere else."⁴¹ Everyone knows that it was no sin for an ancient poet to use the same word twice within a few lines, and that often it is characteristic for unusual words to cluster in a passage. But there is another way in which repetitions in the *Culex* are remarkable. Clausen lists five groups in which two words are repeated twice each (e.g., 47 *gramina*, 48 *vagae*, 49 *vagantes*, 50 *gramina*), and in each group the order of the words is identical: ABBA.⁴² And it is possible to find what appear to be intentional patterns in the longer lists given by Clausen: the words repeated in lines 345-353 can be represented as ABCABBC, and in 358-370 as ABABCDACDC. There may be a further purpose in these patterns. The first thirteen lines of the hexameters of *Apocolocyntosis* 4 also show repetitions in which a pattern can be found: 1 *stamina fuso*, 6 *manu*, 6 *ducta*, 7 *pensa*, 9 *descendunt*, 10 *ducunt*, 11 *manus*, 11 *pensa*, 13 *descendunt*, 13 *stamina fuso*, that is, ABCDE/CBDEA. Are both these poets saying, "Yes, our wretched versifiers do repeat words

⁴⁰ See, e.g., Ring Lardner's parodies of the "roses-are-red school" in his short story "The Maysville Minstrel" (Modern Library edition, pp. 3-11).

⁴¹ Clausen (above, n. 11) 132.

⁴² Pp. 132-135. Randomly repeated words should fall into other patterns, AABB or ABAB, but these do not occur; random repetition is obvious in Clausen's list from Lucan, 2.212-220.

tediously, but if you look closely at *my* parody of this fault, you will see an elegant difference”?

Much else could be used to illustrate our poet's intimate knowledge and sly appreciation of poetic technique and style. For instance, he delights in the “pathetic” epanalepsis of a word following the bucolic diaeresis to the first position in the next line, a mannerism frequent in Catullus' epyllion and Alexandrian in origin.⁴³ But of his six instances of this device, two occur in proximity in the tree catalogue (*impia lotos*, / *impia*, 124–125; and the Ovidian [*R.A.* 597] echo *perfide multis*, / *perfide Demophon*, 132–133, where too note the neoteric apostrophe);⁴⁴ and with these two there is an epanalepsis from line end to line beginning (*quercus*, / *quercus*, 134–135), making a crowd of three in ten lines. The other four examples of this epanalepsis occur in the gnat's stirring narrative (231–232, 245–246, 275–276, 348–349).⁴⁵ There is, I think, method in the poet's madness, or triteness. An attempt to describe the much maligned diction of the poem is impossible here (a line-by-line commentary would be necessary to do the job thoroughly and convincingly), but all the same traits we have observed above could be further illustrated and supported if we did so. Our poet is systematically careful to use Greek forms of Greek words and names; he is fond, too, of archaisms of vocabulary,⁴⁶ inflection, and syntax: both these

⁴³ R. Helm (*Festschrift J. Vahlen* [Berlin, 1900] 359–362) associates this epanalepsis with the increased frequency of bucolic diaeresis in Alexandrian verse; cf. Kroll on Cat. 64.61, Rothstein on Prop. 1.3.26 (cf. in the same poem 31–32), a specifically Catullan couplet in a very Catullan elegy, and Norden on *Aen.* 6.164. Helm finds this device a favorite of Ovid's; it occurs 4 times in Cat. 64, and in others “*qui poetas Alexandrinos imitantur*” (very frequent in Call. and Theocr.).

⁴⁴ This (132–133) is another instance where rhetoric and allusion overpowered a poet (though the poet here, I suspect, was well aware of what he was doing); sense must take second place in establishing the text (cf. Leo's contortions [above, n. 13] ad loc.): see Clausen (above, n. 11) 132, on Prop. 2.12.5–6.

⁴⁵ It is worth noting that if the poet were concerned only with parody of epic, he would not have used this Alexandrian-neoteric epanalepsis 6 times (as even Reuschel admitted [above, n. 20] 35): Helm found this device only once in *Aen.*, but twice in *Ecl.* This in itself is a good indication of the object of the parody — post-Ovidian style and technique. A further indication is provided by the striking absence of the spondaic line in the *Culex*: a poet writing during Virgil's youth would surely have included a good number of such lines, but this is one feature of original neoteric style that (perhaps because of Virgil's influence, perhaps because it was simply too obvious and overworked) found less favor among poets of the empire (e.g., there are no spondaic lines in our Neronian eclogues, but three in Virgil's — notable in view of how slavishly these poets imitated Virgil).

⁴⁶ Plésent (above, n. 36), understandably in 1910, is inclined to see poetic

characteristics approach real pedantry, but here again context often indicates his reason for so doing. Both the Greek veneer and the stilted resonance of the grand style are carefully calculated for parodic effect, just as are his Alexandrian learning and the broader techniques of his narrative.

We are now in a position, I hope, to appreciate the proem to the poem and perhaps to understand how it was conceived and why it was written. All the tired clichés of Augustan neotericism are there: *lusimus . . . gracili modulante Thalia* (1); *tenuem orsum* (2); *carmina docta* (3); *invidus* (5); and later, at the conclusion of his equally weary recusation, *mollia sed tenui decurrens carmina versu* (35).⁴⁷ Yet even in this parade of clichés we may observe a touch typical of the underlying subtlety of our poet: "and like spiders we wove a slender beginning," *atque ut araneoli tenuem formavimus orsum* (2).⁴⁸ Now λεπτός had been used of the spider's spinning by Theocritus (16.96-97, ἀράχνια λεπτά), just as the corresponding (in the contexts of neoteric and Augustan poetics) Latin adjectives had been by Catullus (68.49, *nec tenuem texens sublimis aranea telam*) and Ovid (*Am.* 1.14.7, *vel pede quod gracili deducit aranea filum*); but it was our poet, with no little wit, who put together for the first time the finest of spinners, the spider, and the Callimachean-neoteric concept of the finely spun (*deductum*) poem. Why? As he himself explains immediately, *haec propter culicis sint carmina docta*, that is, "because we poets are spiders (*haec propter*), let's have a poem about a gnat."⁴⁹ This conceit, that the best poets are

archaisms as vulgarisms (along with much else) in his study of diction: Güntzschel (above, n. 6) has a brief but salutary correction of this misrepresentation (pp. 22-34).

⁴⁷ On these terms, see W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom*, Hermes Einzelschr. 16 (1960) 307-308. Note too the context of the appearance of Hesiod later (*aemulus Ascræo pastor . . . poetae*, 96).

⁴⁸ Both Plésent and Leo (commentaries, ad loc.) would translate "like a spider's web," taking *araneoli* as a genitive, rather than "we, like spiders . . ." (nom. pl.); but there is no good (much less compelling) reason for taking the line so; *araneoli* is emphasized by position, is a *hapax* and a diminutive, is in this context an unusual idea, and would therefore seem to draw particular attention to itself.

⁴⁹ On the text of this line, see Clausen (above, n. 11) 126-127. I am strongly tempted to read *haec propter culici sint carmina ducta*, which gives the exact meaning I am suggesting for the line, "let's have a poem spun for a gnat." *Culicis*, which is certainly not an acc. pl. with *propter* (so Leo), can only be taken as a gen. of definition (= *carmen de culice*) with more difficulty than Clausen admits (the exx. given in *ThLL* 3, 473.59-61 are few and rather different); *CULICISINT* would in this context easily lead to *culicis sint. Docta* (the

spiders spinning webs to catch a mere gnat, is a splendid *reductio ad absurdum* and a brilliant beginning to his demonstration of the insignificance and triviality of the sort of poetry parodied in the *Culex*. In fact, it seems to me very likely that this conceit in itself may have been the germ of the idea for the subject of the poem — no Hellenistic original need ever have been postulated.

To summarize, there are those who have regarded the *Culex* as a poem good enough to be Virgil's (it is not always a question of "it is by Virgil, therefore it is good"), there are those who have seen it as a very bad poem, and there are those who have been honestly puzzled by its simultaneous absurdities and artistry. Both extreme positions may be valid, for the poem itself is tediously inept from its mannered narrative to its stilted diction, and yet at the same time reveals a poet who knew poetry intimately, had a firm control over subtleties of diction, was a knowing and skilled versifier and a very learned man. The question seems to be: how could such a poet have written so poorly? — to which the only answer, I think, can be: intentionally. The *Culex* can be read with enjoyment, and at times even with admiration, as a parody that reproduces the excesses and inanities of a vast flood of verse, a swollen river descending from a trickling spring, once pure, and as such it is an important chapter in the history of Latin poetry. Fraenkel showed us how the poem, by Lucan's time, came to be *accepted* as Virgil's. If I am right, we can now see how and why it was *written*. The address to the young Octavius was not perhaps intended so much to deceive as to add another perfect touch to a poem in some ways (as in this) posing as a period piece, in others an accurate reflection of contemporary (probably late Tiberian) poetic manners. Perhaps too the poet anticipated that his point would be missed by some, and possibly he even intended that those responsible for the sort of verse he parodies would take his poem seriously:

quisquis erit culpare iocos musamque paratus,
pondere vel culicis levior famaue feretur.

(6-7)

reading of the archetype — see Clausen's stemma) would easily result from the somewhat unusual *ducta*. On the tense of the pass. subj. *ducta sint*, see Kühner-Stegmann, *Lat. Gram.* 2.1.185-186; Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lat. Syntax* 336. On the appropriateness of *ducere* for the art of both spider and poet, see exx. in *ThLL* 5.1, 2148.64-2149.36, though perhaps *ducta* here is simply to be understood as *deducta*.

THE MORETUM

On the *Moretum*⁵⁰ I can be, fittingly, much briefer. The *Culex* has its splendid moments, but the poet's decision to reproduce the length as well as various other characteristics of the productions he parodies was a mistake: it is impossible to sustain, over a stretch of some 400 lines, the level to which his wit often rises, and I suspect he became somewhat bored with his effort in the last half of the poem. In parody, once the point is made, repetition can add little. The *Moretum* shows what can be done: here is superb parody, every word and phrase exactly calculated, its point made by controlled understatement and suggestion rather than (as in the *Culex*) by lengthy reproduction, of the characteristics of its original; its effect is achieved by flashes of the outrageous rather than by a steady searchlight. The two-line temporal ecphrasis with which the poem begins shows this clearly enough, when compared with the repeated ecphrases of the *Culex* or the nine lines of *Apocolocyntosis* 2. In the case of the *Culex* it was necessary to argue that parody was intended; all that is necessary with the *Moretum* is to ask that it be read — it is neither arrogant nor avoiding the issue to say that the parody is self-evident.

But though the *Moretum* has occasionally been called a parody, and though this has occasionally been denied, more often than not this possibility has been ignored or suppressed. Again one looks in vain for any detailed examination of the poem as parody, for any demonstration that it must be so read or any definition of its purpose or function as parody. There are two recognized characteristics of the poem that have a direct bearing on the question: its language is epic, and it exhibits a realism noted by almost everyone and often called unique in Latin poetry. Those who have stressed this realism have naturally not wanted it diluted, altered, or made less significant by the admission of parody, while those who have concentrated on the epic diction have settled for a rather vague definition of the poem as mock epic (it is the mock heroic, after all, that puts the real and the common into an epic setting to achieve its effect).⁵¹ We have argued that the *Culex* goes

⁵⁰ Unlike the *Culex*, the poem is generally considered to be of real merit and has relatively seldom been assigned to Virgil. The scansion of *ābicit* (line 94) should be decisive (see O. Todd, *CP* 20 [1925] 338–340), though this serves to date the poem only as post-Augustan. The *Moretum* is first known and associated with the *App. Verg.* in the 9th-cent. Murbach catalogue.

⁵¹ Typical is Kroll's denial that the poem is parody simply and solely on the grounds that it is not heroic (and on the basis, it would seem, of one reading): "Von Parodie des Epos ist keine Rede, die Lesart *providus heros* (v. 60 [= 59]) ist zu verwerfen" (*RE* 31 [1933] 298).

beyond the mock heroic, that the object of its parody is something different and its basic nature far more comprehensive than a simple demonstration of the incongruity between things great and small. The purpose of the *Moretum* is, I think, somewhat similar: its realism is of a rather special sort, and the characterization of its language as epic needs qualification.

That the diction and narrative style of the *Moretum* is basically epic was demonstrated (not that a demonstration was, or ever should have been, necessary) by H. Reuschel in 1935.⁵² Reuschel naturally saw the poem as a mock epic, but his excellent dissertation, however, is far from complete as a description of the epic language, and on the other hand ignores both the numerous violations of epic propriety and the significance of features of style that point elsewhere than to epic. It may be worthwhile, therefore, to discuss certain aspects of the diction of the *Moretum*, especially as much of what has been seen as prosaic, incompetent, or otherwise awkward in the vocabulary of the *Culex* can be viewed in a similar way, as the purposeful violation of propriety necessary for parody.

The *Moretum* is studded with epic words and expressions,⁵³ but just as notable are words that are either inappropriate or decidedly vulgar. An epic poet would not speak of "meathooks" (*carnaria*, 55); if his context made it necessary, his meat would simply hang by the hearth, or an elegant periphrasis would be devised for such a prosaic item.⁵⁴ But more pointed are the vulgarisms, carefully chosen by the poet, for which epic expressions do exist. The first five lines of the poem, brilliant in their exaggeratedly poetic diction, lead purposefully to the couch from which Simylus rises, but instead of *lecto* or *toro*, the poet gives us a bed found only in the poorest of rooms, *grabato* (*membra levat vili sensim demissa grabato*, 5), gracing his "sack" with the epithet *vili*, and seeming to muddle as well the usual significance of *membra*

⁵² Reuschel (above, n. 20). The "realists," however, had achieved such success (see for instance E. K. Rand, *HSCP* 30 [1919] 178-179, "It is all realism," and "the prevailing tone [is] matter of fact veracity") that the language of the poem was seen by many as realistically prosy rather than epic; so H. W. Prescott (*CJ* 26 [1930-31] 60-61), who speaks of the poet "with almost photographic exactness and detail, slightly elevating the style by his epic diction and occasionally relieving the prosiness by quiet touches of humor."

⁵³ See Reuschel's very incomplete selection, *fons* and *lympa* for *aqua*, *lux* for *dies*, *lumina* for *oculi*, *geminus*, *bis quinque* for *decem*.

⁵⁴ Such periphrases are often parodied by the poet: e.g., *gremiumque molarum* (23), *tunsa Ceres* (27), *opus versatile* (38).

levat.⁵⁵ Likewise, the description of kneading (42-46), magnificent with its epic periphrases, concludes with the word *grumos*, "heaps" (*interdum grumos spargit sale*, 46).⁵⁶ In both these cases what the poet intended and achieved so nicely should be obvious — the sudden disruption of a carefully devised loftiness of diction by the introduction of a concluding vulgarism: the effect on the context is perfect.

Similarly used are words which, though not vulgar, are at least not poetic. *Prodiga*, for example, concludes the description of Scybale (*spatiosa prodiga planta*, 35),⁵⁷ where, pretending to be what it is not, it is a fraud. *Farina*, almost a technical term and therefore almost never used by the poets,⁵⁸ poses as a poetic plural in line 39, then returns even more elegantly five lines later, *contrahit admixtos nunc fontes atque farinas* (44), in company with the superpoeticism *fontes* (= *aqua*), an alliterative doublet with unelided *atque*, an uneasy marriage of prince and pauper. Much the same, though less dramatic, is the effect of *proventus* (78), another technical term ("farm produce"), used as a minor climax in the correlative opposition *verum hic non domini . . . sed populi proventus erat*. More examples could easily be added.

The diminutives used by the poet reveal the same purpose and effect. *Macellum* (81) cannot be counted properly as a diminutive but does convey (with its telling epithet before the caesura, *urbani*) the tone noted above for other words not admitted by the epic poets. *Tabella* (19) does not occur in Virgil, though it is frequent in Ovid: the point here, however, is that an entire line, with empty grandeur, is devoted to this homely fixture, *quam fixam paries illos servabat in usus*.⁵⁹ The first attestation of *casula* is *Moretum* 60 and 66 (note that the repetition within a few lines is obviously intended for emphasis, as in the case of *farinas*). Finally, *parvulus* (8) is a diminutive as pointedly affective as it is rare.⁶⁰ All these words serve to break the epic propriety of the dic-

⁵⁵ On *grabatus*, see *ThLL* 6, 2127-9.

⁵⁶ *ThLL* 6, 2338.19-46: "*vocabulum vulgaris potissimum sermonis . . .*"

⁵⁷ *Prodigus* in Virg. only *Geo.* 4.89; in Hor. 5 times in *Epp.*, *Sat.*, once in *AP*, twice in *Odes* I; in Ovid only twice; not in Cat., Prop., Tib.

⁵⁸ *ThLL* 6, 281-284; not in Cat., Virg., Hor., Prop., Tib.; in Ovid only *MF* 61.

⁵⁹ With this line, compare the Homeric adaptations in Theocritus' "Heracliscus" (24), 42-43, ὃ [τὸ ξίφος] οἱ ὑπερθεῖν / κλινηῖρος κεδρίνου περὶ πασσάλῳ αἰὲν ἄωρο, with Gow's notes (esp. on the rarity of κλινηῖρος — cf. *grabato*, *Mor.* 5). On the trivialization of the heroic to the domestic in the "Heracliscus" and in other Alexandrian poems, more will be said below.

⁶⁰ See B. Axelson (above, n. 7) 40.

tion and do so in contexts that reveal the poet's parodic intention.⁶¹

Adjectives in *-osus* are obviously well suited to the poet's purpose: on the one hand this termination was exploited by the poets, particularly in epic, while on the other it remained characteristic of, and productive in, the *sermo plebeius*.⁶² Of those used in the *Moretum*, *villosae* (22) occurs twice in *Aeneid* VIII and three times in the *Metamorphoses*; in the *Moretum* it contributes to the epic garb of Simylus (*cinctus villosae tergore caprae* — note the epic *tergore*), a goatskin pretending to be a lion's pelt, with the tail of which he then in the next line sweeps off his handmill. *Spatiosa* (35), a favorite of Ovid's, occurs in and contributes to a context referred to above (*spatiosa prodiga planta*), and Ovidian too is *nodoso* (92). *Saetosa*, applied by Virgil appropriately to an *aper* (*Ecl.* 7.29) and used in "epic" contexts by Horace (*Epod.* 17.15, *Sat.* 1.5.61) and Propertius (4.1.25), more commonly appears in the epic form *saetiger*: Simylus steadies his mortar *saetosa sub inguina* (98), where the epithet conveys a touch both of the heroic and the coarse. Finally, *salebrosus* (109 — not in Catullus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, or elegy) does yet again what we have often seen: by pretending itself to be epic, it effectively undermines the epic pretensions of its context.

One last category of words is worth notice. All are verbs formed with a prefix and occur only here, or are first attested here, or are very rare. When Simylus dusts off his mill, *perverrit* is the verb used and is a *hapax*, as is the verb used of kneading, *transversat* (45): in both cases the common act is dignified, intensified (by the prefix), and ultimately trivialized by the unusual and unpoetic. In the latter passage also occurs *dilatat* (47), otherwise used in verse only by Ovid (*Met.* 6.378). *Excurrit* is used of Simylus' gigantic grain measure, another rare verb (also used once in Ovid, *Met.* 13.724), which, however, as a molossus occupying the middle of the line, again would appear to be an unpoetic prosaism with social pretensions. Finally, Simylus shakes in a sieve the flour he has just ground:

subsedit sincera foraminibusque liquatur
emundata Ceres.

(41-42)

This is the first use of *emundata* in Latin, but I think we can see the reason for its appearance: *Ceres* is modified by *sin-cera* and *emundata*,

⁶¹ The case for reading *recula* (65, Ribbeck's emendation) is as good as for retaining *regula*, but the entire line has perhaps been corrupted beyond repair.

⁶² See my summary in *Style and Tradition in Catullus* (above, n. 39) 53-60.

which comment upon and explain each other as well as the operation performed.⁶³

This sampling of the vulgar, prosaic, or unpoetic should suffice to show that the poet intended some sort of parody. The basic character of his language is epic (though even here frequent exaggeration reveals parodic intention), but the epic expressions and mannerisms are constantly trivialized by the contexts in which they occur or by the sense they convey. It is a necessary part of such a process that various unpoetic words should serve as accents to puncture and deflate the pretensions of the language: the examples just given show how often such words occur at the climax of a particular passage. Whatever prosiness is to be found in the poem is not there in order to achieve any realism or photographic exactness of detail, but rather as an integral and necessary part of a style calculated for a particular effect.

What we have described thus far contains little at odds with a reading of the poem simply as mock epic, and indeed there is a great deal of the mock heroic in the character of Simylus, in what he does, and in the language of the poem.⁶⁴ But there is more to the *Moretum* than this: it is not a direct parody of epic, but of a sort of poetry that had made use of epic for its own purposes, and hence there are in the *Moretum* whole scenes and passages that have no primary existence in heroic poetry.

In the *Culex*, the passage on the joys of the rustic life is introduced with a certain amount of fanfare (*o bona pastoris* . . . , 58-97); the poet intended, I think, that we take these lines as an intrusion and appreciate how vapid such clichés are. I think it likely, too, that when the narrative begins again, he intended us to note how this digression has been stitched onto the fabric of the poem — at least he has left the seam exposed, inside out: it was the shepherd (not the poet) who was responsible for such sunny thoughts (*talibus in studiis baculo dum nixus apricas / pastor agit curas* . . . , 98-99). I cannot prove that this was the intention of the poet, that he is ridiculing shoddy and pretentious workmanship rather than guilty of it, but the *Moretum* contains an example of this very same procedure. Simylus, that *providus heros*, strides forth into his

⁶³ See *ThLL* (s.v. *emundare*) 5, 540-544. I know of no ancient etymology of *Cēres* that makes use of *cēra*, but the connection of *sincerus* and *cera* is ancient: Donatus on Ter. *Eun.* 1.2.97, "*sincerus* purum sine fuco et simplex est, ut mel *sine cera*." A few lines later (50) *mundare* occurs as Scybale cleans a place in the hearth for the bread (*Scybale mundaverat aptum / ante locum*, that is, "Garbage had cleaned . . ." — *σκούβαλον* = "manure, filth"). The verb would therefore appear significant for the poet in both contexts.

⁶⁴ This needs no discussion: Simylus' actions are often seen against a heroic background, as in the final scene of arming and going forth to battle (120-122).

garden (*hortus erat iunctus casulae . . .*, 60): the description of the garden contains a certain amount of moralizing on the self-sufficiency of Simylus' poverty (again, what the *Culex* does somewhat heavy-handedly and often at rather tedious length, the *Moretum* achieves with economy and by suggestion). At the conclusion of the passage, or at the resumption of the narrative, we find that it was Simylus (not the poet) who was responsible for such a train of thought (*tum quoque tale aliquid meditans intraverat hortum*, 85). It can hardly be coincidence that these two passages are so similar and so similarly constructed: I can only conclude that both poets are parodying not only the triteness of poetic reflections on the rewards of rustic self-sufficiency (a theme that needs no documentation for readers of Latin poetry), but as well the artificiality of the way such passages must have been clumsily sewn onto the fabric of a poem by bad poets so as to appear, not as the digressions they so obviously were, but as a part of the narrative — even the most radiantly purple of patches must in some way be stitched on.⁶⁵

In the description of the garden occurs another parallel with the *Culex*; we noted above how necessary to a parody of poetic bad manners was the ecphrasis of the grove with its catalogue of trees. What the *Culex* dealt with at length, the poet of the *Moretum* again accomplishes in a few choice lines (71–76), a catalogue of the vegetables growing in Simylus' plot.⁶⁶ Beets fling wide their arms in the manner of elms or oaks (*hic holus, hic late fundentes brachia betae*, 71);⁶⁷ common vegetables follow in a poetic succession (*fecundusque rumex malvaeque inulaeque virebant*, 72);⁶⁸ then the leek, dignified by an etymological action of a sort (*hic siser et nomen capiti debentia porrum*, 73);⁶⁹ lettuce is ennobled

⁶⁵ It can be noted here how excellently constructed the *Moretum* is: another short description, that of the simple cheese hanging by the hearth, is neatly framed by lines 53 (*verum aliam sibi quaerit opem . . .*) and 59 (*ergo aliam molitur opem sibi providus heros*).

⁶⁶ *Hortus erat . . .* (60) of course parodies the formal opening of an ecphrasis. (Reuschel [above, n. 20] 57–83) has an elaborate scheme, with a rich collection of examples, of the "Ortsbeschreibung" in epic from Homer on, but his emphasis on epic again obscures what was more immediate for the *Moretum* poet — the cliché of the grove and its treatment in Augustan and post-Augustan poetry.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Culex* 129–130 (*Heliades, teneris implexae brachia truncis, candida fundebant tentis velamina ramis*); and *Geo.* 2.296–297 (an oak), *Aen.* 6.282–283 (an elm).

⁶⁸ Cf. *Culex* 140–141 for a similar succession of trees (*et . . . nec . . . -que . . . -que . . .*).

⁶⁹ For the two kinds of leek, *porrum capitatum* (grown for the bulb) and *sectivum* (for the green, as chives), see Pliny *NH* 19.108–110, 20.44–49; the latter is mentioned "learnedly" in the *Moretum* a few lines later, *sectique famem domat area porri . . .*, 82.

both by the company it keeps and by its poetic appositive (*grataque nobilium requies lactuca ciborum*, 74). Finally, the gourd is described in terms apt for its own shape and apt as well, I suspect, for its final destination, "heavy, into a spreading paunch" (*et gravis in latum dimissa cucurbita ventrem*, 76).⁷⁰ Those who are somehow capable of reading this passage as simple realism are missing a great deal.

We do not need more detail to see that the *Moretum* is not just a *Batrachomyomachia*, a mock epic, but rather reproduces what was fashionable in post-Augustan verse, including much, in both diction and manner, deriving from epic. We have noted how the poet "learnedly" refers to both varieties of leeks and how he plays etymologically with the lofty metonymy *sin-cera emundata Ceres* and with *Scybale* (*mundaverat*). Near the end of the poem the name Simylus is derived (*spiritus et simo damnat sua prandia vultu*, 106), and finally the etymology of the *moretum* itself is suggested from the *mortarium* in which it is ground (*constet ut effecti species nomenque moreti*, 116). Such learning, and the manner in which it is presented, points ultimately to Alexandria.

We may now consider the realism of the *Moretum*.⁷¹ An explanation for the graphic detail so objectively presented in the poem has been available for some time; it is necessary only to bring it into focus in the proper literary context. Wilamowitz drew attention to the striking similarity of manner and purpose in the presentations of *Hecale* by Callimachus, of *Philemon and Baucis* by Ovid, and of *Simylus*.⁷²

⁷⁰ The line, of course, was suggested by *Geo.* 4.121-122, *tortusque per herbam/ cresceret in ventrem cucumis*.

⁷¹ On this realism, see above, n. 52: the general consensus is that the poet is interested in the situation in and for itself, not (as can be said of the rustic or agricultural life in the *Eclogues* or *Georgics*) symbolically, that there is no Virgilian sympathy to be felt in the description of Simylus' lot, nor is it presented as something good or bad, ennobling or base — it simply exists. By far the most stimulating and suggestive study of this realism is by R. Heinze ("Das Kräuterkäsgericht," *Vom Geist des Römertums* (Stuttgart, 1960) 404-416), who makes very little of parody, though he recognizes the possibility, esp. p. 415, where he speaks of an instance of "Ironisierung, um nicht zu sagen Parodie hellenistisch-neoterischer Kunst" (cf. Büchner, *RE* 8.A.1, 1173-1175, who, with less logic but more truth, somehow manages to keep both the realism and the parody). But the very uniqueness of such impersonal realism should arouse suspicion: it may be a secondary characteristic only, the necessary result — not the primary objective — of the poet's purpose. The poet was obviously a man of considerable sophistication, elegance, and literary wit, no more likely than Tibullus to have known intimately, or to have cared much about, the condition of a rural daylaborer.

⁷² "Die Behandlung war durchaus nicht was die Leute idyllisch nennen, sondern etwa wie im *Moretum*, denn der Dichter hatte nicht die Stimmung,

Heinze pointed to a different but related aspect, the detailed description, with technical virtuosity, by the Alexandrian and neoteric poets, of everyday acts in epic settings: Hecale's preparation of the meal, the launching of a ship in Apollonius, Catullus' description in his epyllion of the spinning of the Parcae, and the content of the *Moretum* from beginning to end.⁷³ I may add another example of the same general tendency in Hellenistic poetry, the peculiar treatment of Alcmena, Amphitryo, and Heracles by Theocritus in the "Heracliscus" (24), in which the heroic appears in a curiously domestic setting.⁷⁴

It was, I think, primarily as a parody of this tendency or movement in poetry that the *Moretum* was written. Simylus rises in the dark and lights his lamp from the hearth, burning himself in the process (1-15); he grinds his flour and makes his bread (16-51). Then, as the bread is baking, the poet occupies us with the moralizing and descriptive panel on the *hortus* (60-84), after which Simylus makes the pesto sauce to accompany his bread (85-122). This bald summary does no violation to the spirit of the poem (as would a similar outline of any 122 lines by

dass Ärmlichkeit durch Bedürfnislosigkeit ihren Druck verliert und der verwöhnte Mensch sich an dem gesunden und behaglichen Leben in solcher Enge zur Natur zurückfindet," *Hellenistische Dichtung* I (Berlin, 1924) 188-189. The similar presentation of the aged priestess Oenothea by Petronius (*Sat.* 135-136, with the hexameters of 135.8) has also been recognized. The dependence of the *Moretum* on the *Hecale* had previously been discussed by C. Morelli, "Note sul *Moretum*," *Rend. Accad. Lincei* (Cl. di sc. mor.) 23 (1914) 72-88.

⁷³ Heinze (above, n. 71) 415: "die Dichter jener Schulen hielten darauf zu zeigen, dass sie auch alltägliche Dinge mit technischer Genauigkeit episch darstellen konnten . . ."

⁷⁴ Contrast the very brief handling of the same events by Pindar, *Nem.* 1. It should be noted how much of the language of Theocr. 24 is Homeric (see Gow's commentary), violated continually by the unpoetic in a manner very similar to the *Moretum*: the effect is almost comic. Unheroic domesticity is suggested immediately by Alcmena's lullaby (7-9), by the babes asleep in the great shield; comedy seems unavoidable as Alcmena tells Amphitryo to hurry (μηδὲ πόδεσσι τεοῖς ὑπὸ σάνδαλα θείης, 36, where note that σάνδαλα is not Homeric, though the idea is (in the formulaic ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα); whereupon Amphitryo fumbles with his heroic arms until the crisis is over, then calls to his snoring δμῶας (cf. Pindar's Καδμείων ἀγοί, *Nem.* 1.51), finds himself rather inexplicably locked out or in, and can only rouse an old woman asleep μύλαις ἐπι (51). Compare (Theocr.) 25, the "Heracles Leontophonos": e.g., the elaborate epic similes applied to Augeas' numberless cows (88-95) or the description of the various tasks of the equally numberless stable workers (100-107); if the author "belongs to the school of Theocritus and Callimachus, a school seemingly neither numerous nor long lived" (Gow, *Commentary*, p. 440), such a treatment of epic material is particularly interesting.

Virgil); rather, it conveys precisely the poet's purpose. The "narrative" is entirely devoted to the detailed description of a few simple, common tasks, and the only section of the poem not occupied with the narrative is the superb lines parodying a stereotyped set piece. We need not look any more closely at individual scenes, though it is tempting to do so: the description of grinding (19-31), for instance, is exquisite in its presentation of the smallest details of the operation in heroic terms. Such detail, however, is basically foreign to epic and makes no sense unless seen against the background of the Alexandrian reformation of the heroic, in which the heroic world was made to appear in human scale and its characters granted the concerns and often the occupations of the poet's contemporaries, but in which too the language of the heroic past was retained as a setting into which the personal, contemporary, and even the appositely trivial could be introduced for particular effect. This generalization will, I hope, be at least recognizable to readers of Callimachus, Apollonius, and Theocritus, even if it conveys only a partial or one-sided view of their poetry.

The realism of the *Moretum* has been called "unique" in Latin poetry with good reason, for the source and object of the parody is to be found primarily in Alexandrian poetry. The peculiar domestication of the heroic, the urge to reduce the hero, if not quite to the commonplace, at least to the recognizable, and to give him not only contemporary emotions and thoughts but on occasion even routine and mundane occupations, was not a reformation that found a particular place or purpose at Rome, where, after all, a primary heroic literature had never existed. If I may again be allowed a generalization, Alexandria showed Roman poets how they could write about their present and personal concerns in more universal terms and with poetic significance, but *not* by the process of reducing the heroic to the human. It was quite the opposite: Ariadne can represent Catullus, embodying and extending what the poet himself felt, but she is not reduced in the process, as are Callimachus' Theseus and Hecale or Theocritus' Alcmene and Amphitryo.

The comparison of "things great to small" cannot mean very much where things great have only a secondary, derived significance, as at Rome. Alexandria knew the heroic world, the Roman poets were only acquainted with it. Ovid, especially in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, was perhaps the first Latin poet who resembled the Alexandrians in this respect, who found it not only possible but necessary to trivialize the heroic — and perhaps for this reason the poet of the *Moretum* reveals himself so often as a reader of Ovid. But one basic difference

between the Alexandrian and Ovidian treatment of the heroic and that of the *Moretum* poet is obvious: the *Moretum* starts with a common figure and theme, and this, of course, points directly to parody. The Alexandrian reformation of the heroic world in turn finds its own ultimate reduction in the figure of Simylus.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR

THE FRIENDS OF MARTIAL, STATIUS, AND PLINY, AND THE DISPERSAL OF PATRONAGE

PETER WHITE

ROMAN poetry, like Roman politics, owed much of its shape to the knots and ties of *amicitia*. Especially with the less formal genres, writing was almost as much a social as a private endeavor. One thinks first of that persistent current of dinner-table dilettantism on which floated an endless burden of improvised epigrams and elegiacs. But even professional poets drew upon the resources of circles and cliques. They invoked in their poems the names of friends, circulated unpublished drafts among them, sounded them out at recitations, appealed to their support in literary feuds. To wealthy and influential patrons, they owed the popularization of their work, material encouragement, and, sometimes, their themes.

For certain periods of Roman poetry — the generation of the neoteric poets, for example, or the age of Maecenas — we are accustomed to reckon with this background. But Martial and Statius, who belong to the only other period for which information about friends and patrons is available in quantity, have been comparatively little studied. The most salient fact about the literary society glimpsed in the *Silvae* and the *Epigrams* is that we are confronted with a long roll of little-known names rather than with a few outstanding figures. Martial names at least threescore persons who might be patrons, and many friends besides. There are eighteen persons, apart from the emperor and Statius' own family, who are met in the *Silvae*. Only six individuals belong to both groups.¹ Friends in common obviously constitute a

I am grateful to the referee, Professor E. Badian, against whose criticisms I have tried to make this paper stronger.

¹ They are (in the order in which they are taken up in the first section of this paper) L. Arruntius Stella, Atedius Melior, Claudius Etruscus, Argentaria Polla, Novius Vindex, and (Flavius) Earinus. The Vibius Maximus of *Silvae* 4.7 is commonly identified with the Vibius Maximus of Martial 11.106; for an argument that they are not the same man, see *Historia* 22 (1973) 295–301. There is no reason, apart from the sharing of an undistinctive cognomen, to suppose that Statius' friend Septimius Severus (of *Silvae* 4.5) is identical with Martial's friend Severus (references to whom are found most conveniently in *PIR*¹ S 453, or in the *index nominum* of Heraeus' Teubner Martial).

minority of each poet's acquaintances: a third of Statius' friends; less than a tenth (and probably *much* less than a tenth) of Martial's friends. Although Martial and Statius were both writing at the same time, and though they both worked in the same genre of occasional verse, it would appear that they wrote for essentially different audiences.

In the first section of this paper I will show how the apparent exception — the six "patrons" shared by the two poets — is consonant with a strong first impression that the audiences were different. In the second section, I will compare the people mentioned in the *Epigrams* and the *Silvae* with another group of contemporaries who took an interest in literary affairs, and whose dealings with one another can be partly followed: the friends of Pliny.

I

Even as few as six shared patrons might give coherence and direction to the literary life of the late first century if those six stood near its center. In the following pages I will discuss the poems written for them in order to establish where they do stand, in relation to the poets and to one another.

It should be said that the focus of this study is not chiefly prosopographical. Since the six persons in question have left virtually no record of themselves apart from the poems in which they appear, it would be impractical to treat them in the same way as actors in the world of politics and history. And at the same time, it is less important for the purpose of this paper to determine exactly who they were than what sort of dealings they had with Martial and Statius. The evidence with which one must try to answer this question is limited entirely to the poems, and the answer will be framed in terms of inferences from the poems. The specific questions that will be raised are whether the various poems were composed for formal or informal occasions; whether they were written at the direction (tacit or explicit) of the recipient, or offered unasked; what effect they seem designed to have on the persons for whom they were written. Apart from what can be learned about the immediate circumstances of each poem, there are certain other clues which tell what sort of friendship the poets had established with each

A note about citations: in this paper Martial is quoted from W. M. Lindsay's Oxford Classical Text of 1929, Statius from A. Klotz's (second) Teubner edition of 1911.

of these patrons. We can observe whether the poet addresses his patron in familiar, affectionate terms, or with formality and restraint; how often they appear to have met, and under what circumstances; what sort of subjects were discussed between them; and, if the poets happen to speak of themselves, how they represent their connection with the patron.

There is obviously some reason to harbor misgivings about the use of such criteria. The poems were not written to provide answers to these questions, and accordingly the answers may have the look of being extracted rather than freely rendered. Nor is it safe to proceed as though occasional verse reflects a complete picture of a poet's dealings with his patrons. As for distinguishing between the warmth of some friendships and the coolness of others, to note how often a patron is styled as *dilectus* or *carus amicus* is a less than certain guide, since the language of a poet who lives by patronage is not always to be trusted. Moreover, the voices which the poets assume in their discourse with patrons are distinctive and divergent, so that a comparison of what they say or fail to say can be misleading. The poet of the *Silvae* favors a tone of solemnity to which Martial rarely resorts, while the latter's glibness is virtually unachievable for Statius. Admittedly, therefore, the questions I am proposing are answerable only with difficulty, and perhaps sometimes inconclusively. Nevertheless, if we wish to examine the role played by the six "patrons" whom Martial and Statius share, these are the questions that must be asked.

1. ARRUNTIUS STELLA

When in the year 89 or 90 the young senator Arruntius Stella² took a wife, the event was recorded in poems by his friends Martial (6.21) and Statius (*Silvae* 1.2). Statius termed his poem an epithalamium, and the elements of an epithalamium are clearly recognizable, though they have been sprung apart to accommodate a long, much-mythologized account of the courtship, and several encomiastic digressions on various facets of the bride and groom.³ What Martial contributed is not an epithalamium, but it does toy with the trappings of that form:

Perpetuam Stellae dum iungit Ianthida vati
laeta Venus, dixit "Plus dare non potui."

² *PIR*² A 1151; *RE* 2 (1895) 1265-6 Arruntius 26 (von Rohden).

³ This production has recently received attention in a sensitive study by D. Vessey, "Aspects of Statius' Epithalamion," *Mnemosyne* 25 (1972) 172-187.

haec coram domina; sed nequius illud in aure:
 "Tu ne quid pecces, exitiose, vide.
 saepe ego lascivom Martem furibunda cecidi,
 legitimos esset cum vagus ante toros.
 sed postquam meus est, nulla me paelice laesit:
 tam frugi Iuno vellet habere virum."
 Dixit et arcano persussit pectora loro.
 plaga iuvat: sed tu iam, dea, caede deos.⁴

As in Statius' poem, divine machinery sets the event in motion, and the prime mover is Venus. Martial alludes to the disrepute which formerly attended the liaison between Venus and Mars, just as Statius had done (in lines 59-60) — both hinting perhaps at a tincture of scandal which had preceded Stella's marriage (see lines 24-37 of *Silvae* 1.2). Even the ribald jibing of the epigram may be intended to suggest the *iocatio* of a wedding song.

Since in other wedding poems (for example, 4.13 and 7.69) Martial does not compose such fanciful scenarios, it is likely that he is here poking fun at the productions which hailed his patron's marriage, or that he is offering a little epithalamium in his own vein, or both. Statius in the preface to the book states that Stella had explicitly called for an epithalamium from him. Martial's adaptation of the form might suggest that he too had been prompted by Stella.⁵ And probably theirs were not the only poems to have been produced for the occasion. Stella numbered several poets among his associates (Flaccus, Julius Cerialis, and Canius Nepos are three known from other poems of Martial), and so one may reasonably surmise that Statius had specific contemporaries in mind when in *Silvae* 1.2.247-252 he exhorted his fellow poets to join in celebrating the marriage.

Prompting from the bridegroom may partly explain the similarity between Statius' treatment of the wedding and Martial's. When the poets expatiate beyond the particular occasion of their poems and speak of Stella himself, they again tend to dwell on the same topics. More than a third of Martial's poems concerning Stella are devoted wholly or in part to publicizing his gift for poetry. In the epithalamium, Statius glorifies above all else the bridegroom's love poems which (he

⁴ The last two words of this poem are quoted as printed in the Teubner text of Heraeus, whose conjecture (defended with the too brief apology "ut fiat satirica clausula") seems preferable both to the readings of the manuscripts and to the conjecture argued by Housman (*JP* 30 [1907] 239).

⁵ On another occasion Stella did not hesitate to set the epigrammatist to work: see 9.89.

asserts) have moved Venus and Apollo to sanctify the match. Both poets refer in particular to a poem on his lady's pet dove (Martial 1.7, 7.14, and *Silvae* 1.2.102); and both flatter him with comparisons to the great Roman elegists (Martial 1.7 and 4.6, and *Silvae* 1.2.255). Both describe him as a ladies' man (Martial 5.11-12 and *Silvae* 1.2.100), though this may be only a romanticization of Stella's activity as an elegist. Martial and Statius are aware of more than just his poetical endeavors: both have sufficient knowledge of his background and prospects to augur an early consulate (Martial 9.42 and *Silvae* 1.2.174-176). Finally, both describe, and may have visited, the opulent mansion of his wife (Martial 7.50 and 7.15, and *Silvae* 1.2.147-157). These coincidences allow the conclusions that Martial and Statius had at least limited entrée with Stella, that they owed their connection with him to his conceit of his gift for poetry, and that praise of this talent was what he most desired to hear (or what they assumed he most desired to hear) from them.

Despite the coincidences, however, the poems give very different impressions of the two poets' respective relationships with Stella. Statius' relationship with him was less close than Martial's. Apart from his attendance at Stella's wedding — an event, it should be emphasized, thronged with guests, clients, and onlookers⁶ rather than a private occasion — the only demonstrable contact between them took place two or three years afterwards⁷ when Statius gathered the epithalamium and several other occasional poems and published them in a book dedicated to Stella. Although the latter is once styled *Stella carissime* in the dedication (line 27), Statius says nothing which would suggest that there had been continuing intercourse between them. His silence on this point contrasts markedly with his effusions of camaraderie apropos of other dedicatees.⁸ Even more telling is the line Statius adopts in a passage (*Silvae* 1.2.256-265) where he seeks to establish a link between himself and Stella:

⁶ Compare the description at *Silvae* 1.2.232-235:

et pars immensae gaudet celeberrima Romae.
omnis honos, cuncti veniunt ad limina fasces,
omnis plebeio teritur praetexta tumultu:
hinc eques, hinc iuvenum questus, stola mixta laborat.

⁷ Ninety-two was the year in which Book One was published: see Friedlaender-Wissowa, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*⁹⁻¹⁰ IV (Leipzig 1921) 294, 296.

⁸ Compare *Silvae* 2 *praef.* 5-18 to Atedius Melior, 3 *praef.* 5-16 to Pollius Felix, and 4.4.101-105 to Vitorius Marcellus.

me certe non unus amor simplexque canendi
 causa trahit: tecum similes iunctaeque Camenae,
 Stella, mihi, multumque pares bacchamur ad aras
 et sociam doctis haurimus ab amnibus undam;
 at te nascentem gremio mea prima recepit
 Parthenope, dulcisque solo tu gloria nostro
 reptasti. nitidum consurgat ad aethera tellus
 Eubois et pulchra tumeat Sebethos alumna;
 nec sibi sulphureis Lucrinae Naides antris
 nec Pompeiani placeant magis otia Sarni.

Statius refrains from asserting a friendship between them, saying only that they share the poet's calling. And he gives less emphasis to this tie than to his being a compatriot of Stella's bride (to whom *te* in line 260 and *alumna* in 263 refer). Finally, throughout the poem, he tends to consider Stella from the standpoint of an outsider rather than of an intimate, scrutinizing his background and connections, appraising the success of his match with Violentilla, and weighing his prospects. These would all have been matters of public record.

Martial, on the other hand, flaunted his association with Stella in a long series of epigrams which begins with the first book and runs through almost every book thereafter to the twelfth.⁹ The twenty-one poems of the series make Stella the third most prominent personage in the *Epigrams*.¹⁰ His standing as a public figure, which absorbs so much of Statius' attention, Martial barely acknowledges,¹¹ which is remarkable since the epigrams written for Stella cover the entire period of his ascent through the senatorial cursus. It cannot be that Martial lacked opportunity to raise the subject of office and honors. Rather, his reticence attests a determination to fix the attention of his patron, and of his readers, on other things. Stella's poetry is the topic to which he most frequently adverts, as I have said. The wedding poem has also been discussed: a poem in honor of a solemn occasion which yet avoids the least nuance of formality or seriousness. Two other epigrams (5.11 and 12) are about some rings which Stella wears. Four (1.44, 4.59, 7.36,

⁹ 1.7, 44, 61; 4.6; 5.11, 12, 59; 6.21, 47; 7.14, 36; 8.78; 9.42, 55, 89; 10.48; 11.52; 12.2; and (for Stella's wife Violentilla) 6.86; 7.15, 50.

¹⁰ Only the emperor and Flaccus (a friend and countryman of Stella) receive more.

¹¹ Only two of the 21 poems explicitly refer to public office: 9.42, a prayer to Apollo in which Martial entreats an early consulship for his friend, and 12.2.10-11, in the introduction to a book of poems sent to Stella when he finally reached the consulship. A third poem (8.78) describes games over which Stella presided, probably as praetor, but Martial neglects to mention any post.

and 9.55) mark occasions of giving or getting the modest presents with which client and patron discharged their duties to each other. Other vicissitudes in the life of a client account for seven more poems. In 7.15 and 50 the epigrammatist admires the grounds of his patron's villa, where he was visiting also at the time of 6.47 and 86. 9.89, 10.48, and 11.52.15 speak of dinner parties with Stella. The seemingly trivial topics to which Martial adheres in most of the poems are topics which hold constantly in view his intimacy with Stella. They had become acquainted even before Stella entered the Senate, and somehow Martial managed to keep their relationship informal despite Stella's waxing *dignitas*. This is evident especially in the piquant suggestiveness of the wedding poem, and also in 10.48, which invites Stella and five other friends to a simple meal at Martial's dwelling place. None of the five except Flaccus appears to have been a member of Stella's own class. Canius Rufus and Julius Cerialis were poets no better off than Martial himself.¹² Nepos was a neighbor of Martial's, and is elsewhere described as a man who lived frugally.¹³ Of the fifth guest, Lupus, nothing is known.¹⁴ Stella would not have been invited to dine in this company unless Martial maintained a relaxed and easy friendship with him.

Yet although Martial's association with Stella was closer than Statius', it too must have had its beginning in, and drawn most of its strength from, Stella's pursuit of the Muse. Talk of poetry runs through the whole series of epigrams, and one may note that five of the seven participants at the dinner party of 10.48 were poets, or at any rate composed verse. This common interest not only explains how Martial obtained access to Stella. It is also connected with one of the benefits, perhaps the principal benefit, for which Martial looked to his patron. By virtue of his patrician standing¹⁵ and his steady ascent through the senatorial cursus, Stella was one of the most socially prominent of Martial's friends. Social prominence was inseparable from the striving and self-display which pullulated in dozens of salons and cliques, of

¹² For Rufus, see 3.20; for Cerialis, 11.52.

¹³ See 6.27.

¹⁴ Since the name Lupus is apparently assigned to fictitious characters elsewhere in Martial, and since the Lupus of this passage receives a rather back-handed invitation, he too ought perhaps to be regarded as a fiction. Martial may be thinking of him as an *umbra* attached to Stella or Flaccus, the sort of character to whom Horace alludes in *Epist.* 1.5.28.

¹⁵ The evidence for thinking him patrician is Statius' phrase "*patriciis maioribus ortus*" in *Silvae* 1.2.71, coupled with his apparently early attainment of the consulship. But see Groag, *PIR*² A 1151.

which Stella headed one of the most fashionable.¹⁶ In gaining Stella's favor, Martial also gained commendation to the visitants of Stella's salon, among whom, given the host's literary predilections, he had an excellent prospect of enlisting other readers and other patrons. The advantage of his patron's ascendancy is acknowledged in the last poem of the series, written just after Stella entered his consulship (12.2), in which Martial promises his *libellus*: "ille dabit [te] populo patribusque legendum."

2. ATEDIUS MELIOR

The theme which Statius embroiders for Atedius Melior¹⁷ is not honors or achievements, but personality. At *Silvae* 2.3.64-71 he writes:

tu, cuius placido posuere in pectore sedem
blandus honos hilarisque tamen cum pondere virtus,
cui nec pigra quies nec iniqua potentia nec spes
improba, sed medius per honesta et dulcia limes,
incorrupte fidem nullosque experte tumultus
et secrete, palam quod digeris ordine vitam,
idem auri facilis contemptor et optimus idem
comere divitias opibusque immittere lucem.

Melior exemplified the mean: a man entitled (by wealth, or the prestige of family) to respect and the presumption of correct deportment (*honor, cum pondere virtus, honesta*), he yet possessed a humane appreciation for fellowship and the good things of life (*blandus, hilaris, dulcia*). He was rich, and understood the uses of wealth (lines 70-71), but he was not a materialist (*auri facilis contemptor*). He did not aspire to political influence (*quies*), but was not therefore content to renounce public activity altogether (*nec pigra*). Whether we judge his personality as well tempered and open, or merely vague, Melior was qualified to be the ideal host and patron. In a class-conscious milieu, that qualification in itself can serve to found a career.

The protestations of lines 66-68, however, hint that Melior had experienced a scare at about this time. At the turn of the year 88, the army commander in Upper Germany tried and failed to carry through a coup. Convinced that a cabal had abetted him, Domitian began to purge suspects, but his suspicions never afterward subsided. The conspiracy of Saturninus had given rise to a period of oppression

¹⁶ As demonstrated by the turnout for his wedding (above, n. 6).

¹⁷ *PIR*² A 1277; *RE* 2 (1896) 1902 (von Rohden).

which caught its victims in Rome and all over the empire. In a famous trial of the year 93, Arulenus Rusticus and the younger Helvidius Priscus succumbed. Probably this situation lies behind Statius' denial that his friend would allow traitorous hopes to flourish at his gatherings:¹⁸ the poem was written between the ominous dates of 88 and 93. Melior might have recalled that one generation previously, another harmless patron of the arts had seen his name blazoned over an unfortunate conspiracy.

It is important to perceive Melior's ambition to lift his head among his peers when we consider his relationship with Martial and Statius. Both formed an acquaintance with him which was apparently kept up for several years. Martial first mentioned him in a poem of the mid-eighties. 2.69 is about a parasite who feigns reluctance to dine out. When asked why, then, he does not simply refuse invitations, the parasite replies "cogor" — he feels a social obligation to the host. Martial then puts to him the following case:

En rogat ad cenam Melior te, Classice, rectam.
grandia verba ubi sunt? Si vir es, ecce, nega.

In the context of the argument, Melior must be a personage so far elevated above Classicus' station that there could be no conceivable obligation to accept; and at the same time, a dinner given by him must exemplify the most desirable invitation imaginable.

An epigram written a couple of years later (4.54) again invokes Melior as a standard, this time of elegance on the grand scale:

divitior Crispo, Thrasea constantior ipso
lautior et nitido sis Meliore licet:
nil adicit penso Lachesis . . .

Two more occasions were to stir Martial's pen. He wrote 6.28 and 29 on the death of Melior's favorite in about the year 90. Three years later he wrote 8.38, after Melior had set up an annuity for a *collegium* which was to honor the memory of a dead friend. The details Martial mentions imply that he was in close touch with his patron's household (as he may already have been at the time of the earlier epigrams), but he never uses endearments or familiar expressions that convey a feeling of friendship, as with Stella.

Statius' work records four separate encounters with the man, only

¹⁸ A theme already adumbrated earlier in the poem, when Statius is describing the site of Melior's mansion, "qua nunc placidi Melioris aperti / stant sine fraude lares" (lines 15-16).

one of which is datable. Like Martial, he wrote a poem on the death of the young favorite (*Silvae* 2.1); in the same book he included an aetiological piece about a tree in Melior's courtyard (2.3: this poem had been written as a birthday present), and an Ovidian dirge (2.4) about the parrot which used to enliven the host's dinner parties (*lautitia Trimalchionis*!). Finally, when he came to dedicate the fourth book, the poet chose Melior as dedicatee. The three poems discreetly draw our attention to the figure of Statius basking in Melior's company on three different occasions, and they are replete with that warm intimacy which is absent from Martial's epigrams.

Melior was neither a poet nor a devotee of literature, to judge by the concurring silence of his publicists. By what avenue did he and they become acquainted? In the opening line of one poem (2.3) Statius uses the epithet *nitidus* by which Martial had summarized Melior's reputation for elegant hospitality; presumably it conveyed the same idea for Statius. The fourth poem of Book Two recalls one of the dinner parties for which the man was celebrated. From this it would appear that both poets knew the same side of Melior, in the role he cultivated of fashionable host. From his point of view, the presence of the two most successful poets of the nineties could not fail to add distinction to his table.

Probably his friendship with Martial and his friendship with Statius developed separately. Only once do the poets both treat of the same event (the death of Glaucias, the favorite). And judging by the warmth of Statius and the reserve of Martial, they occupied different levels in the hierarchy of Melior's friends.

The respective poems on Glaucias' death are characteristically dissimilar. Statius' 230 hexameters discourse on the boy's character and looks, his favored position in Melior's household, and his accomplishments. They tell of his growth to early adolescence, his death and funeral, and subsequent events in Hades. Martial tendered two epigrams (6.28-29), one of them a stylized epitaph ten lines long, the other recalling in eight lines how Glaucias was manumitted in recognition of his extraordinary beauty.

Yet it is the similarities which call for comment. Both poets relate that Glaucias was not purchased on the slave market but was born in his master's house and manumitted in infancy (Martial 6.29.1-4; *Silvae* 2.1.72-81). Both give his age at death as twelve (Martial 6.28.8-9; *Silvae* 2.1.124-125); both locate his tomb on the *via Flaminia* (Martial 6.28.5; *Silvae* 2.1.175-177). Statius knows further details which Martial may also have known but did not use. To acquire such precise informa-

tion about the young *libertus*, it is obvious either that the poets had to have frequented Melior's home or that they were instructed by Melior himself. Yet nothing indicates that Melior requested these poems. On the contrary, Statius implies in the dedicatory letter that he did not. (And indeed, there would be something incongruous about a *consolatio* which had to be asked for.)

Perhaps it is a mistake to assume that direction must be explicit. If Glaucias was a showpiece, paraded before Melior's guests, Martial and Statius would have heard his story many times, and easily recognized him to be his master's favorite theme. When Glaucias died, Melior did not need to suggest the appropriate response. It was obvious, and Martial says as much in the opening lines of 6.28:

Libertus Melioris ille notus
tota qui cecidit dolente Roma . . .

At the end of both *Silvae* 2.1 (lines 189–207) and *Silvae* 2.4 (lines 76–77), Statius contrives to mention an old friend whom Melior is said to cherish even after death. Martial also has something to say about Blaesus: 8.38 praises Melior for having endowed a *collegium* with funds to celebrate his dead friend's birthday. Like the details about Glaucias, the poets evidently picked this up from Melior's ostentatious comportment. Martial notes that the trust fund had not lacked for publicity ("praestas hoc, Melior, sciente fama," 8.38.8); and Statius had been given opportunity to observe the touching ritual which Melior had instituted before Blaesus' portrait bust (2.1.192–193).

3. CLAUDIUS ETRUSCUS

Claudius Etruscus¹⁹ was the older son of a man who had risen from slavery to knighthood on the strength of his competence and good luck within the domestic bureaucracy of the Caesars. It was extraordinary, and extra-legal, that the father should have reached equestrian status. But he did even better than that, marrying eventually into a senatorial family. His wife's brother was a consular, possibly that Tettius Julianus who led an army to victory over the Dacians.

Etruscus himself studied his situation and evidently resolved to purify the dignity acquired by his father through a life of well-mannered

¹⁹ *PIR*² C 860; *RE* 3 (1899) 2719–2720 Claudius 143 (Stein). The career of the father, whose fortunes so powerfully influenced the son's, has recently been discussed by P. R. C. Weaver, *CQ* n.s. 15 (1965) 145–154.

luxury. According to Statius, his father had educated him for just this part (*Silvae* 3.3.147-153):

... quam dives in usus
natorum totoque volens excedere censu,
testis adhuc largi nitor inde adsuetus Etrusci
cui tua non humilis dedit indulgentia mores.
hunc siquidem amplexu semper revocante tenebas
blandus et imperio numquam pater; huius honori
pronior ipse etiam gaudebat cedere frater.

To escape the taint of past *humilitas* and to possess respectability must have been this family's most urgent ambition. An ambiguous phrase of Statius hints that it led the father into bankruptcy and speculation.²⁰ Whatever the reason, he was exiled by Domitian, a misfortune which recommended the life of *quies* that much more strongly to the son.

During the early nineties, both Martial and Statius are found in Etruscus' entourage. They evidently did not owe their friendship to a common preoccupation with literature, because this topic plays absolutely no part in the poems to Etruscus. But surely the *novus eques* appreciated how effectively the occasional poetry of his day converted ordinary happenings into smart talk. On the theory that he yearned for perfect respectability, he will have wanted to enlist a publicist. That would explain why he took up Martial and Statius.

Statius improvised his first poem for Etruscus (*Silvae* 1.5) at a dinner given by Etruscus.²¹ Its subject was the elaborate bath which the host had just had constructed, and which we may assume he had invited his guests to try out before dinner, according to the Roman custom. The circumstances make it all but certain that Statius wrote the poem because he was asked.

To the same subject Martial devoted 6.42. The epigram begins:

Etrusci nisi thermulis lavaris,
inlotus morieris, Oppiane.

and after twenty lines of description, the poet ends:

Non adtendis et aure me supina
iam dudum quasi neglegenter audis.
inlotus morieris, Oppiane.

²⁰ The phrase is "[Fortuna] tarda situ rebusque exhausta" in *Silvae* 3.3.156. Statius cannot let alone the sore point of *humilitas*: it comes up in lines 43-48, 64, 119-121, and 142-145. Even Martial touches upon it once (7.40.2).

²¹ The convivial embellishments of verses 10-14 are verified by an explicit statement in the preface to Book One: "Claudi Etrusci . . . qui balneolum a me suum intra moram cenae recepit."

This piece, like most of the epigrams, communicates little about the situation which evoked it. But it must belong to approximately the same date as Statius' poem — to a time when Etruscus' bath was still a novelty. Further, the scoptic character of the beginning and end, together with the informality of the hendecasyllabic meter, suggest that Martial wrote it as much in order to entertain as to praise. It is natural to conclude that it emerged at the same dinner party as Statius' poem, during an evening of improvisation. The maneuvering behind that occasion is best appreciated with the aid of an epigram published a few years later (9.19):

Laudas balnea versibus trecentis
cenantis bene Pontici, Sabelle.
vis cenare, Sabelle, non lavari.

Statius ended his poem on Etruscus' bath with the lines

macte, oro, nitenti
ingenio curaue puer! tecum ista senescant,
et tua iam melius discat fortuna renasci.

The commentators have remarked on the allusion in this passage to the plight of Etruscus' father, who had been exiled to Campania by Domitian in about the year 83; on the evidence of these lines, he still remained under sentence. But very soon afterward he was recalled. In the same book as the epigram on the *thermae*, Martial published a poem about the father's restoration (6.83):

Quantum sollicito fortuna parentis Etrusco,
tantum, summe ducum, debet uterque tibi.
nam tu missa tua revocasti fulmina dextra:
hos cuperem mores ignibus esse Iouis;
si tua sit summo, Caesar, natura Tonanti,
utetur toto fulmine rara manus.
muneris hoc utrumque tui testatur Etruscus,
esse quod et comiti contigit et reduci.

Martial's treatment is masterful. It is a tour de force to have conveyed that the father was recalled from exile, and yet to have avoided any word which struck upon the ignominious fact of exile. The closest he comes to mentioning it is in the last line, where he relies on the word *comiti* to conjure the formula *comes exilii*; *reduci* is chosen as having the same associations.²² For whose sake is this tactful, allusive manner

²² Apparently only Izaac in the Budé translation has seen that *reduci* has an active sense — uncommon enough, but something for which Martial 10.70.9

employed? Surely not for the reading public which, without the particulars related by Statius, would have been rather mystified than enlightened by the contents of the poem. These words must have been written for a private audience well acquainted with the story of Etruscus' father. Unlike most of the epigrams considered in this paper, 6.83 does not seek to carry news of the wealthy and great to the ears of the outside world.

The first and last lines praise Etruscus for the filial love which inspired his successful intercession, but otherwise Martial addresses himself to the emperor. Poems to patrons not infrequently contain a passing compliment to Domitian, but the peculiarity of this piece is that it regards him almost to the exclusion of the ostensible patron. This makes sense if we suppose it to be intended for presentation to the emperor rather than to Etruscus. Yet at the same time, the poem was obviously written in some sense *for* Etruscus.

There is one last clue to the intention and background of this epigram. It is the word *testatur* in the second-to-last line. Martial does not mean to say simply "Etruscus is grateful to you for your generosity on two occasions." *Testatur* implies a word or act by which Etruscus formally and publicly demonstrates gratitude. Thus it appears that the occasion which prompted Martial's poem was not precisely the recall of the father, but the elaborate thanksgiving which followed the recall. Statius also alludes to a profuse celebration in *Silvae* 3.3.154-155:

quas tibi devoti iuvenes pro patre renato,
summe ducum, grates, aut quae pia vota rependunt!

What Etruscus did, we do not know. But this epigram of Martial's is best understood as forming part of Etruscus' thankful tribute to the emperor. That should mean that the poem was produced at his prompting.

In Statius' collection there is no counterpart to *Epigrams* 6.83. He wrote his next and last verses to Etruscus just after the latter's father had died. They were published as *Silvae* 3.3, in which a long recital of the father's career is sandwiched between an exordium and a per-

ought to prepare us. *Reduci* makes no sense as a passive because Etruscus did not share the sentence in the first place, and in the second place, he had clearly been dwelling in Rome for some time prior to his father's recall. There is also an aesthetic reason for preferring the active sense. It is finer to say "Etruscus was privileged to see his father to the place of exile and later to be the one who brought him back."

oration lauding Etruscus' filial affection. Statius thrice repeats that he composed the poem unasked (in the preface to the third book and at 3.3.31-33 and 2.5-16), out of admiration for the sincerity of the young man's grief. He himself, he says, had witnessed the funeral (line 176).

The motif of *pietas* permeates the ninety lines which deal with the son. The choice of theme is not surprising in view of the occasion, but the care which Statius has taken to ornament and enlarge it reveals a more than perfunctory interest. The servile origins of Etruscus' family, combined with the father's exile, had closed for Etruscus the ordinary avenues to public distinction. But he had achieved one great success in persuading Domitian to reinstate his father, and, as argued above, had celebrated the event magnificently. At that time, if not before, Statius must have recognized the facet of his patron which he could highlight most effectively. And, in fact, except for a passing mention of his *ingenium* and *cura* in line 64 of *Silvae* 1.5 (which virtues themselves Statius may have been connecting with Etruscus' activities on behalf of his father), *pietas* is the only positive quality ascribed to Etruscus in the *Silvae*.

Martial modeled his poem on the death of Etruscus' father (7.40) in the style of an epitaph, but abandoned this fiction at the end with a couplet addressed to the son:

sed festinatis raptum tibi credidit annis,
aspexit lacrimas quisquis, Etrusce, tuas.

The topic of the tearful mourner had been treated at some length by Statius (*Silvae* 3.3.8-12); and moreover, the past tense, pointing to the specific occasion of the funeral, implies that Martial like Statius was present and witnessed the obsequies.

In so far as they concern Etruscus, the *Silvae* and the *Epigrams* run remarkably parallel. Each work contains an extempore description of the baths, and a funeral piece on the father. The coincidence might seem to suggest that Etruscus held an important place among the patrons of the two poets. And yet the poems are not altogether freely invented: they arise in situations where a poet might feel that some verses were called for — in the one case, after an invitation to dinner, in the other, after a funeral which entailed attendance for clients and friends. The one poem in the *Epigrams* which has no counterpart in the *Silvae*, on the exiled father's return, probably owed its origin to a request from the patron. What is lacking in this group are pieces which afford a glimpse of relaxed intercourse, with no hint of contriving by the patron.

4. ARGENTARIA POLLA

One November between the years 90 and 92, Martial composed three short poems²³ to celebrate the anniversary of Lucan's birth. Statius wrote a larger work on the same subject during one of the years 88 to 93. These poems did not owe their inspiration to chance. All were written at or after a ceremony which Argentaria Polla,²⁴ Lucan's widow of some twenty-five years, organized to make the anniversary a special occasion. This background is perceptible in *Epigrams* 7.22, where Martial invites the Muses to bless the sacred observance ("Aonidum turba, favete sacris"), and in 7.23, where he prays that Polla may live long and celebrate her husband's birthday many times. 7.21 announces its theme and immediately couples it with the invocation of Polla:

Haec est illa dies, magni quae conscia partus
Lucanum populis et tibi, Polla, dedit.

Polla looms too large in these poems for them to be taken simply as a poet's tribute to an admired predecessor.

Statius also implies that the anniversary which he commemorates was accompanied by some sort of ceremony. His prelude (*Silvae* 2.7.1-23) consists of an invitation to a rite which (typically) is partly fanciful and partly real. In his poem, too, Polla instigates the celebration ("vocante Polla," line 120).

In the closing lines Statius foresees that the feast of which he writes will mark a turning point in Polla's attitude:

cedat luctus atrox genisque manent
iam dulces lacrimae, dolorque festus
quicquid fleverat ante, nunc adoret.

These verses would be inappropriate if in previous years she had been accustomed to observe Lucan's anniversary with equal fanfare. During the year when Statius wrote 2.7, she must therefore have publicized the anniversary with some extraordinary celebration. If that is true, it almost certainly follows that Martial's poems date from the same year and the same celebration. The situation would accommodate the

²³ The Lucan poems of both Martial and Statius are discussed by V. Buchheit, *Hermes* 88 (1960) 231-249 and *Philologus* 105 (1961) 90-96. Buchheit also argues that Martial's three epigrams were composed for the same occasion, pointing out that each one focuses on a different aspect of the celebration, and that they provide a complete treatment of it only when taken together.

²⁴ *PIR*² A 1039; *RE* 2 (1895) 706 (von Rohden).

interpretation that both poets were responding to Polla's desire for commemorative verse.

Statius referred to Polla's part in the origin of his poem, but the passage in which he did so poses a sore problem for the explicator. In the dedicatory letter of the second book, he summarized for his patron the background of each poem in the volume. Of the seventh piece he wrote, according to the Matritensis:

cludit volumen genethliacon Lucani, quod Polla Argentaria, rarissima uxorum, cum hanc diem forte consuleremus, imputari sibi voluit.

The difficulty lies in *consuleremus*. Mozely in the Loeb translates "when we happened to be considering the celebration of the day"; the rendering in the Budé text is similar: "Polla Argentaria . . . comme il se trouvait que cet anniversaire occupait nos pensées, a fait mettre la piece à son compte." These translations mask an anomalous construction in the Latin. When *consulere* governs a substantive in the accusative case, it can mean "to consider, to think about" a project or problem expressed by the object only when the substantive is either a neuter pronoun or adjective, or, what is nearly equivalent, the noun *rem*.²⁵ Otherwise, and ordinarily, the verb means "to consult, put a question to, seek aid from," and its accusative object is either an animate being or, by extension, a thing half personified, from whom or which one seeks aid. The accusative does not identify the problem which one confronts, but a resource on which one draws in order to solve the problem. In the pedestrian context of the clause "cum hunc diem forte consuleremus" it is most unlikely that Statius has renounced ordinary usage and that he is trying to say "when we were deliberating about the day." *Consuleremus* can only mean "consult," and unless we can elucidate some figurative or extended sense in the phrase "to consult the day," the text must be judged corrupt.²⁶

²⁵ For example, "consulere quiddam est quod tecum volo," Plautus *Mostellaria* 1102; "eam rem consules . . . ad patres deferunt, sed delatam consulere ordine non licuit," Livy 2.28.2. I have found only one exception to this norm among the citations in *TLL*, where a noun other than *rem* is the object of *consulere*. It is in Livy's description of the elder Cato, "in bello . . . summus imperator, idem in pace, si ius consuleres, peritissimus" (39.40.6).

²⁶ The oddness of the transmitted text can be better appreciated if we set it against two other passages where the phrase *consulere diem* occurs. Ovid in *Ars. Am.* 1.252 warns the lover against becoming entangled in an affair before he has taken the opportunity to scrutinize his prospective mistress in full daylight: "consule de gemmis, de tincta murice lana, / consule de facie corporibusque diem." The second passage is Valerius Flaccus' description (*Argonautica* 3.38-39) of the vigilant helmsman who orients his course by the last glimmerings

Nevertheless, it should be possible to recover approximately what Statius meant. Let us begin with a translation that allows for the uncertainty. "The volume closes with 'Lucan's Birthday.' When we happened [to be doing something connected with] that anniversary, his peerless spouse, Argentaria Polla, wanted to have the poem recorded in my books as charged to her." First, *imputari* belongs to the language of bookkeeping. Literally it denotes the charging of money or goods or services to the recipient who owes for them.²⁷ Here, as once in the preface to the fourth book, Statius applies it to the situation of the client poet. The poems he tenders create a moral debt to which the recipient should respond with generous recompense.

The key to this passage, however, is *forte* in the *cum* clause. As often, *forte* indicates, not that the action expressed by the verb of its clause takes place accidentally or by chance, but that the connection between its clause and an adjacent clause is fortuitous and unexpected.²⁸ Statius conveys that whatever he was doing when Polla requested the poem, it was not calculated, but pure coincidence. I can think of two ways to interpret *forte* in the passage. Statius might have meant that he originally wrote the poem as a spontaneous tribute to Lucan, with no thought of reward, and only later turned it over to Polla when she had heard about it, and wanted to incorporate it in the anniversary celebration. But this interpretation seems unlikely. If he had meant that the poem was his own idea, not Polla's, he would have written *nos ipsi* with the verb rather than *forte*. Besides, the text of the poem clearly reflects a celebration organized and presided over by Polla, hardly the setting for a spontaneous tribute.

It is more likely that Statius was trying to tell his readers that he had not foisted on Polla a commemorative piece which she did not solicit: "non iniussa cano," in the parlance of an earlier generation. The text would yield good sense if one emended *consuleremus* to

in the western sky after sunset: "ipse diem longe solisque cubilia Tiphys / consulit, ipse ratem vento stellisque ministrat." In both passages, *dies* represents a resource used in order to accomplish a purpose, in the first case, the purpose of determining whether a woman is good-looking, in the other, the purpose of plotting a course. In the Stadian passage, what would be the purpose for which Statius and Polla were "using," "drawing upon," the day?

²⁷ I think that the *Thesaurus* article by Rehm has gone astray with the explanation "acceptum vel expensum ferre." So far as I can see, *imputare* never means *acceptum ferre*.

²⁸ Or, as the case is put by Hey in *TLL* vi 1130.67-68, *forte* "significat aliquam actionem non conexu causali, sed tantum temporali cum alia esse coniunctam"; for instances of *cum forte*, cf. 1131.48-59.

coleremus, with F. Skutsch.²⁹ Thus Statius would be explaining that he was present at a celebration to which he was invited, when Polla unexpectedly flattered him with a request for a poem, perhaps an impromptu poem, commemorating the occasion. "The volume closes with 'Lucan's Birthday.' This is a poem which Argentaria Polla happened to ask me to compose for her on an occasion when we were celebrating the anniversary of his birth." The passage would complement the conclusion which emerged from an analysis of the poems themselves: that Statius and Martial composed the Lucan pieces at their hostess's request.

The epigrams do not provide even a single epithet which would give us a clue to Martial's impression of Polla. Statius, however, reserves for her an encomium of several lines. He puts these into the mouth of the Muse Calliope, who foretells the destiny of the infant Lucan (*Silvae* 2.7.81-89):

nec solum dabo carminum nitorem,
sed taedis genialibus dicabo
doctam atque ingenio tuo decoram,
qualem blanda Venus daretque Iuno
forma, simplicitate, comitate,
censu, sanguine, gratia, decore,
et vestros hymenaeon ante postes
festis cantibus ipsa personabo.

To have married a poet would not suffice to earn her the name of *docta*. The word always implies, if not literary production,³⁰ at least an enthusiastic preoccupation with literature and *littérateurs*. It presents Polla in the context of the salon, as one of the many patrons who fostered a literary climate within their sphere of influence. The attention given to *comitas* points in the same direction, because the word denotes an essentially social virtue. And in general it can be said that the

²⁹ In *Fleckeisens Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie* 39 (1893) 826. For the expression *colere diem*, cf. Ovid *Fasti* 6.710: "hoc est cur nostros ars colat ista dies"; *Ars. Am.* 1.41 "tum licet incipias qua flebilis Allia luce / . . . quaque die redeunt rebus minus apta gerendis / culta Palaestino septima festa Syro"; Martial 12.67: "Maiae Mercurium creastis Idus, / Augustis redit Idibus Diana, / Idus saepe colas et has et illas, / qui magni celebras Maronis Idus." The usual expression would be *celebrare diem*, but Statius shows a marked fondness for the verb *colere*.

³⁰ Sidonius Apollinaris might seem to recommend the notion that Polla actually turned her hand to poetry. *Epist.* 2.10.6 portrays her as helping Lucan with his versification, but this is more likely to rest on sentimental fancy than on authentic tradition.

qualities which this encomium sets forth are much more the credentials of a successful socialite and hostess than the traditional virtues of a Roman matron.

Once the Lucan celebration has been brought into the familiar milieu of salon activity, it becomes possible to recognize Polla as one of the little-noticed company of women who created their own domains amid the social life of the first century. Evidence of their role is small but convincing. In the year 21 Clutorius Priscus recited his ill-timed dirge for Tiberius' son before an audience made up entirely of women — his mother-in-law Vitellia and "multae inlustres feminae" (Tacitus *Ann.* 3.49). At the end of the first century, the most colorful of these enterprising hostesses is Ummidia Quadratilla, who owned a troupe of pantomimists (Pliny *Epist.* 7.24). But we are also introduced to several others in the *Epigrams*. There are half a dozen women whom Martial plies with pleasantries and flattery, speaking as though beholden to them alone and not to their husbands or any third party. Mummia Nigrina was married to a senator (Antistius Rusticus), but in the two poems to her (4.75 and 9.30) the husband serves as little more than a background detail. Claudia Rufina also was a *matrona*: Martial praises her beauty and sophistication (11.53) but ignores her husband. Other ladies of the *Epigrams* include his countrywoman Marcella, who gave him property in Spain (12.31); Sabina, to whose home in the Po Valley he forwarded a book of poems (10.97); and the scandalous Sempronia, whose willing abduction Martial recounts in 12.52. The spirit in which Lucan's widow made capital of his anniversary surely owed something to her competition with women like these.

There remains one epigram which documents a later phase of Martial's connection with Polla; Statius wrote nothing besides the one poem discussed. At some point between A.D. 94 and 98 Martial composed the piece published as 10.64:

Contigeris regina meos si Polla libellos
 non tetrica nostros excipe fronte iocos.
 ille tuus vates, Heliconis gloria nostri,
 Pieria caneret cum fera bella tuba,
 non tamen erubuit lascivo dicere versu
 "Si nec pedicor, Cotta, quid hic facio?"

The three previous epigrams owed their existence to an initiative taken by Polla, and they are consistent with an assumption that poet and patron knew each other only slightly. Does 10.64 prove that in the course of the three or four intervening years this encounter developed

into *amicitia*? On the contrary, it argues for just the opposite. This epigram is designed to introduce a book of poems which Martial sent to Lucan's widow. The apologetic plea for a tolerant hearing here and elsewhere presupposes a reader of whose reaction Martial is unsure — a relatively unknown reader, therefore.³¹ The tone of the relationship can be gauged also by the use of the word *regina*. *Regina* is the counterpart of, and shares the emotional force of, the appellation *rex*. Many passages in Martial³² and other writers of the first and second centuries demonstrate equally that patrons delighted in being addressed as *rex* by their dependents and that the dependents found it an intolerably demeaning word to utter. The word is rarely used without strong feeling. It either connotes gross pandering to a patron or serves as a bitter epithet to be used behind his back.³³ Consequently, when Martial styles Polla his *regina*, it is reasonable to conclude that she is not a familiar friend, but someone whom he is still struggling to impress. Finally,

³¹ The same gambit is employed in 1.4, 4.14, 5.30, 5.80, 7.97, 10.64, 11.15, 11.106, and 12.1. Another sign of formality in the poem to Polla is that Martial begins it in almost the same way as he begins a similar poem to the emperor (1.4): "Contigeris nostros, Caesar, si forte libellos . . ."

³² Cf. 1.112, 2.18, 2.68, 3.7.5, 5.19.13, 5.22.4, 10.10, 10.96.13, 12.60.14. Among earlier writers, one of the most instructive examples is Horace's assurance to Maecenas (*Epist.* 1.7.37-38) "rexque paterque / audisti coram."

³³ There is a passage in the *Silvae* where the word *rex* is neither obsequious nor bitter, but appears to be spoken with affection. But its effect in that passage is nonetheless related to its ordinary acceptation. Statius' friend Maecius Celer has just obtained his first praetorian assignment, a legionary command in Syria. The poet briefly entertains the fancy of accompanying his friend abroad (*Silvae* 3.2.90-95):

quid enim te castra petente
non vel ad ignotos ibam comes impiger Indos
Cimmeriumque chaos? starem prope bellica regis
signa mei, seu tela manu seu frena teneres,
armatis seu iura dares; operumque tuorum
etsi non socius, certe mirator adessem.

Regis here must be interpreted first of all in light of the sentimental affection which the whole poem exudes. Celer in the preface is described as "iuvenis mihi iucundissimus"; in lines 7-8 as "maior pars animae nostrae"; in 81 as "nostri pignus amoris." In verse 50 and following the two friends part with a tearful hug; lines 132-143 imagine an emotional reunion. In the second place, Celer is a young man, younger than Statius. And finally, he is about to face the first real test of his capabilities as an army officer. Given Celer's youth and the warmth of his friendship with Statius, neither man was likely to feel that the appellation *rex* rightly characterized their relationship. The word is a gracious misrepresentation, chosen because Statius wished to send off his friend with a most flattering augury of his maturity and success in Syria.

the overture to Polla is bare of any personal detail, though Martial's usual practice would lead us to expect the exploitation of such details. He seems to know her only to the extent of knowing that she is Lucan's widow, just as he had known her several years before.

Probably their acquaintance originated with the anniversary celebration and went no further. Later Martial decided to turn Polla's recollection of him to advantage, and to issue to her, as to others, a complimentary copy of his latest work.

5. NOVIUS VINDEX

Novius Vindex³⁴ acquired a place in the verse of Martial and Statius because he purchased and displayed a figurine of Hercules, allegedly the work of Lysippus. External evidence dates the respective poems (*Silvae* 4.6 and Martial 9.43-44) to approximately the same year: Book Nine of the *Epigrams* was published not before mid-94, and the poems which make up Book Four of the *Silvae* were completed by mid-95.

Internal evidence raises a strong suspicion that they belong to the same day. The first of Martial's poems envisions a statuette which rests before him on Vindex's dinner table. Statius also describes it repeatedly as ornamenting the table (and hence its name, the *Hercules Epitrapezios*). The beginning of the Statian poem explains how he came to be sitting at Vindex's table. In thirty lines which laboriously strive for the chatty idiom of Horace, he tells how Vindex invited him to dinner one evening at the last moment, and what the evening was like. In the following three lines

nobis verus amor medioque Helicone petitus
sermo hilaesque ioci brumalem absumere noctem
suaserunt mollemque oculis expellere somnum

it is *medio Helicone petitus sermo* which engages speculation. As Statius declares (4.6.30-31 and 98-108) and Martial corroborates (9.43.14), Vindex himself wrote poetry. The supper which he gave was informal and comprised a very simple menu (*Silvae* 4.6.5-11). The subject of poetry guided conversation. The dinner table held a conspicuous centerpiece, which Statius described. In the course of a dinner party at Vindex's home, Martial described the same statue. What conclusion could be more likely than that Vindex assembled several poets or

³⁴ *PIR*¹ N 156; *RE* 17 (1936) 1221-1222 Novius 24 (Stein).

poetasters from among his *amici minores*, and proposed his statuette as the theme for their after-dinner improvisations?

Although *Silvae* 4.6 and *Epigrams* 9.43 differ greatly in length, they are organized on almost exactly the same plan, which in itself suggests that they were composed under the same auspices. In one of his most perfunctory efforts Martial describes the statuette, identifies the sculptor, recites the pedigree of previous owners (Alexander, Hannibal, and Sulla), and draws a moral:

Offensus variae tumidis terroribus aulae
privatos gaudet nunc habitare lares,
utque fuit quondam placidi conviva Molorchi,
sic voluit docti Vindicis esse deus.

Statius names the sculptor, describes the work, gives the same pedigree, and infers a similar lesson (lines 89–93):

nunc quoque (si mores humanaque pectora curae
nosse deis) non aula quidem, Tiryntie, nec te
regius ambit honos, sed casta ignaraque culpae
mens domini cui prisca fides coeptaeque perenne
foedus amicitiae.

These poems show so much the same features that we must suppose them to have been confected according to the same recipe. And the recipe could only have come from Vindex. Martial's poem reads probably as he wrote it at the table, while Statius' poem is the impromptu piece combined with a later prelude.

Martial says nothing more about Vindex, or his own connection with Vindex, than that he is *doctus*: a poet. Statius dilates on this qualification, adds obvious remarks to the effect that he has no peer at judging fine statuary, and provides one item of concrete information: Vindex cherishes the memory of Vestinus, a young man of good family, lately deceased.³⁵ Concerning the extent of Statius' association with Vindex we find only such enlightenment as is offered by the profession *verus amor* in the passage first quoted, and by the appellation *Vindex noster* in the preface to Book Four.

³⁵ Martial 4.73, from about the year 88, also concerns a Vestinus who died young, and, although Martial does not mention Vindex, the conclusion is commonly drawn that Vestinus is the friend of Vindex mentioned by Statius. It is certainly possible; and if it is correct, Martial's connection with Vindex would probably have to be brought some six years back from the date of 9.43.

6. EARINUS

Earinus,³⁶ Domitian's cupbearer, had at last outgrown the fashions of boyhood and was allowed to cut his locks. He resolved to dedicate them in the temple of Aesculapius at Pergamum, where he was born, with some appropriate verses. In the preface to Book Three of the *Silvae*, Statius relates that he composed the fourth poem at Earinus' bidding, "cum petisset ut capillos suos, quos cum gemmata pyxide et speculo ad Pergamenum Asclepium mittebat, versibus dedicarem." At the beginning and the end (verses 1-11 and 86-106) his composition takes on a slight resemblance to a votive poem, but the body of it concerns the donor rather than the offering. Through the usual haze of supernatural manifestations, Statius looks back to Earinus' birth in Pergamum and his advent in Rome; narrates how he found favor with both emperor and empress, and, as cupbearer, became the cynosure of the court; and tells how, falling victim to custom, he was castrated, only a few years before Domitian humanely banned the practice. In the preface to the book, he mentions also that Earinus was a *libertus* — for one so young, clear evidence of favor. But despite the length of this romanticized biography, it gives remarkably few facts about Earinus' past; perhaps even fewer than are found in the parallel biography of Glaucias, Melior's favorite. All that Statius says could have been known or inferred from the cupbearer's situation.

Martial wrote six epigrams about Earinus which are all to be found in Book Nine (11, 12, 13, 16, 17, and 36). Numbers 16 and 17 correspond to *Silvae* 3.4, and treat of the same particulars that Statius was asked to versify: that Earinus offered to the god Aesculapius his mirror and his boyish curls. They differ in the conceits with which they end, and slightly in literary form (16 is a simple narrative; 17 an imaginary inscription). They express exactly what the cupbearer had wanted to have said and no more. Even where the epigrammatist was free to invent, he is perfunctory. A prayer to the god closes 17 (the inscription):

Tu iuvenale decus serva, ne pulchrior ille
in longa fuerit quam brevior coma.

Since it differs from the prayer which Statius puts into the boy's mouth (lines 100-105), both prayers are probably flourishes added by the poets rather than the sentiments of Earinus. Martial simply resurrected the formula employed when other *delicati* cut their hair (compare 1.31, 5.48, 7.29).

³⁶ (Flavius) Earinus, *PIR*² F 262; *RE* 6 (1909) 2597 Flavius 81 (Stein).

A third epigram arose from the same occasion as the other two, but it moves with more spirit, and almost equals the length of both the others combined. Poem 36 brings on the celestial Ganymede, who looks down at the ceremony in the palace and asks Jupiter why he cannot obtain leave to cut *his* hair. The deity replies:

Caesar habet noster similis tibi mille ministros
 tantaque sidereos vix capit aula mares:
 at tibi si dederit vultus coma tonsa viriles,
 quis mihi qui nectar misceat alter erit?

In his zeal to charm the emperor, Martial scarcely notices Earinus, who drops out after an anonymous reference in line 1 ("Ausonium posito modo crine ministrum"). The subject of the haircut is treated in such a way that it focuses mainly on Domitian. And there can be no mistaking that the poet shows more enthusiasm and imagination when writing for his ear than in the first two poems. Another indication of Earinus' subordinate importance is that only once in all the six poems does Martial use the second person and address himself directly to him. Except for the first line of 12, the poems are about him rather than to him.

Statius by contrast addresses Earinus (or his attributes) at several points (lines 1-3, 60, 64, 78-81), and holds him always in the forefront of the poem. This is not to say that he never adverts to Domitian. But unlike Martial, he does not neglect Earinus in order to do so. In passing from servant to master, he generally finds a pretext which allows him to compliment both. For example, he argues that the homeland of Earinus deserves higher glory than Mount Ida, whose nursling Ganymede aggravated the jealousy of Juno. Not so the child of Pergamum, according to lines 17-19 (addressed to Pergamum):

at tu grata deis pulchroque insignis alumno
 misisti Latio, placida quem fronte ministrum
 Juppiter Ausonius pariter Romanaque Juno
 aspiciunt et uterque probant.

Later the poet relates how Venus transported the boy to Rome. In the motive which she gives, praise is again balanced between the two parties (lines 34-35): "ego isti, / quem meruit, formae dominum dabo." Nor does the poem lead to Domitian without quickly leading back to the boy. The care given to portray Earinus exceeds the requirements of formal, rhetorical unity. Yet it is unlikely that Statius was better acquainted with him than Martial was. The cause is rather that the *Silvae* are differently conceived than the *Epigrams*. Statius used the

genre of occasional poetry to frame testimonials concerning the personality of his subjects.

Three epigrams of Martial remain, which all toy with various associations suggested by the name Earinus (a topic which Statius completely foregoes). The first (11) begins with a catalogue in the epigrammatist's "strung" style:

Nomen cum violis rosisque natum,
quo pars optima nominatur anni,
Hyblam quod sapit Atticosque flores . . .

but ends in a technically oriented polemic about the poet's craft:

nomen nobile, molle, delicatum
versu dicere non rudi volebam:
sed tu syllaba contumax rebellas.
dicunt Earinon tamen poetae,
sed Graeci quibus est nihil negatum
et quos Ἄρες Ἄρες decet sonare:
nobis non licet esse tam disertis
qui Musas colimus severiores.

The next piece varies the catalogue of the one preceding, and the third poses the name as a riddle (13). Like number 11, it is more preoccupied with the epigrammatist's technique than with the person of Earinus:

Si daret autumnus mihi nomen, Oporinos essem,
horrida si brumae sidera, Chimerinos;
dictus ab aestivo Therinos tibi mense vocarer:
tempora cui nomen verna dedere quis est?

Though the subject is different, these three poems were probably written on the same occasion as the three discussed earlier. In any case, they have to have been written within the year which separates the publication of Book Eight from that of Book Nine. And since at no time during the years before or after Book Nine did Martial mention Earinus, it seems likely that during the year in question also, he did not deal with him until asked. Furthermore, the nucleus from which the variations on the name proliferated is plainly to be found in a line from number 16, on the offering to Aesculapius: "puer . . . nomine qui signat tempora verna suo." What Martial sought to do was to produce enough verse to justify the sending of a proper brochure. The total of verses equals a little over half the length of the Statian poem.

Neither poet applies to the cupbearer the sentimental epithets (*Earinus meus, carissimus*, etc.) which would argue for familiarity and friendship with him. Their acquaintance was probably limited to one

occasion, and on that occasion it was Earinus who sought verses rather than Martial and Statius who offered them. The trimming of a favorite's hair usually took place in a ceremony sponsored by his master, so Domitian's sanction would have commended the cupbearer's request. Needless to say, that Martial and Statius shared an invitation to commemorate this state occasion³⁷ implies nothing about their relationship to each other.

Although these six persons drew the attention of both poets, the coincidence by no means permits the inference that they played an important part as patrons. The strength of their ties to Martial and to Statius varied greatly. Polla, Vindex, and Earinus appear to have come into conjunction with the poets for only a brief time. Their joint appearance in the *Silvae* and the *Epigrams*, so far from establishing their importance, actually points up their fringe relationship because both in the one and in the other work they pass so quickly in and out of sight. Stella stands at the opposite extreme, at least as regards the *Epigrams*. Martial enjoyed a continuous and close association with him throughout the eighties and nineties. Melior and Etruscus stand somewhere in between. The poems vouch for their accessibility during a couple of years' time, but leave open to question the spontaneity and depth of their friendship with the poets. Of the six, two at best sustain their presence in the poems long enough for us to reckon them as possible Maecenases.

The tenuousness of the relationship between the poets and the people in question can be perceived in the tone of many of the poems. To be sure, this is not true of Martial's twenty-one epigrams to Stella, whose prominence is incontestable. But as a group, the remaining twenty-nine pieces by Martial and by Statius tend to be formal and unspontaneous. Two (*Silvae* 2.1 and 3.4) were avowedly written at the request of the person interested. For reasons presented in the preceding pages, sixteen more can be supposed to owe their origin to a request also (*Silvae* 1.5, 2.7, 4.6, Martial 6.42, 83, 7.21-23, 9.11-13, 16-17, 36, and 43-44) — which account for more than three-fifths of the total. The ratio of requested poems seems much higher for the "patrons" of this group than for patrons in general. This naturally fosters the impression that the appearance of their names in the *Silvae* and the

³⁷ Probably they were not the only poets to hymn the occasion. Martial in 9.11.13-15 speaks of Greek poets whose lax prosody enabled them to fit Earinus' name to verse with enviable facility. The emperors could always count on *Graeculi* to come forward with commemorative verse.

Epigrams reflects rather a determination to get themselves publicized than any substantive rapport with Martial and Statius.

One might approach the subject from another point of view and call attention to the number of poems which are tied to more or less formal occasions. Six have to do with the death of someone close to the recipient (*Silvae* 2.1, 3.3, Martial 6.28-29, 7.40, and 8.38); the Lucan anniversary accounts for four (*Silvae* 2.7, Martial 7.21-23); one is a birthday poem (*Silvae* 2.3); four commemorate Earinus' dedication of his curls (*Silvae* 3.4, Martial 9.16-17 and 36); one celebrates the return of Etruscus' father (Martial 6.83). They add up to sixteen out of the twenty-nine. Of the informal occasions which generate the remainder, most are *convivia*, the informality of which is suspect: the host might entrap the poet into writing.

The choice of relatively serious subjects in the *Epigrams* is particularly striking because it is so untypical. Except for a couple of poems involving Melior, one misses in this group the simple subjects which fill the verses that friends elsewhere in the collection receive: trips taken together, visits to a country house, the exchange of presents, jokes, and anecdotes. It is significant that one misses poems which *lack* any particular occasion.

Another peculiarity which clarifies Martial's standpoint vis-à-vis these people is the duplication of epigrams on the same theme. The six pieces relating to Earinus' haircut constitute the most striking example. But the poet also produced three epigrams on the Lucan anniversary, two on the death of Melior's favorite, and two on Vindex's statuette of Hercules. The desire ultimately to present the poems in a small brochure probably accounts for this phenomenon of variation. The preparation of a small text of select poems prior to publication was the most elaborate way of approaching a patron, and complements the formality of the poems involved.

The formality of Statius' poems is less surprising because the *Silvae* are less given to inconsequential subjects than the *Epigrams*. Yet even Statius could sometimes adopt a casual tone, if he happened to be writing to a good friend, like Vitorius Marcellus in *Silvae* 4.4, Septimius Severus in 4.5, or Vibius Maximus in 4.7. Within the *Silvae* there do exist poems of an informal character. But, with the exception of Melior, it is not the people in our group of six who receive them.

Not only, then, is the overlap between the audience of the *Silvae* and the audience of the *Epigrams* small. In general, the persons who belong to both groups are not those most closely connected with either Martial or Statius.

They were also not closely connected with one another. Neither poet associates any one of the six with any other. Yet if Martial and Statius had known of mutual friendships which knit the various parties together, we could reasonably expect the poems to bring such relationships to light. Martial often speaks to one friend about another, or introduces the names of two or more friends within the same context. But of the six persons here discussed, Martial's corpus presents only two (Stella and Melior) who are associated with anyone else named in the poems. And even these two are not associated with one another, or with third parties who are mutual friends.

A similar argument can be made for Statius. In the dedicatory letters he tries to relate the poems comprising each book to one another and to the person of the dedicatee. He recalls for example that Septimius Severus, for whom he wrote *Silvae* 4.5, was a *condiscipulus* of the man to whom the book is dedicated. But he does not attest to any mutual connections among the six persons of this study, nor for that matter (with the possible exception of Melior and Flavius Ursus) to connections between any of the six and anyone else treated in the *Silvae*.

It should be no surprise if these individuals kept to separate ways since they appear to have had nothing in common. They differ in age: Earinus was a boy; Stella had not yet reached his thirtieth year; Melior was *senex*; Etruscus was middle-aged. They differ in status: Earinus was a *libertus*, Etruscus an *eques* of very recent origin, Stella a senator, and Polla a senator's widow. They differ in interests: though Stella, Vindex, and Polla could claim to play some part in the literary life of the period, Earinus, Melior, and Etruscus would seem to have had no part in it. They are not even all of the same sex.

To recapitulate. Except for Stella and Melior, the people covered in this survey do not stand out as prominent among the enthusiasts and friends whom the two poets attracted. Moreover there is not the least sign that they had anything to do with one another. Apart from the coincidence of being named in both the *Silvae* and the *Epigrams*, they have no claim to be regarded as a group. If one is seeking evidence of a literary circle around Martial and Statius, no encouragement is to be found here.

II

Less than a decade after the publication of the *Silvae* and the *Epigrams*, a friend of Martial began to issue his collected correspon-

dence.³⁸ The ten books of Pliny's *Letters* inform us whom he knew and what he did, as to a lesser extent the *Epigrams* do for Martial. The two collections provide the only detailed information about an individual's dealings with his contemporaries in this period.

Since the *Epigrams* and the *Letters* possess this common aspect, it is possible, and may be instructive, to compare the acquaintances named in the one corpus with those named in the other. But first it is necessary to establish that they are genuinely parallel sources.

First, their respective dates. According to Friedlander's computation,³⁹ Books One through Twelve of the *Epigrams* were published at intervals during the years from A.D. 85 (or 86) to 101 (or 102). For the sake of argument, let us disregard the last book, which was published after Martial's retirement to Spain, and end the period with A.D. 98, the year of the last book published in Rome. Pliny's *Letters* date from late 96 to 108 (if we disregard the last book, comprising mostly the correspondence from Bithynia).⁴⁰ For a short period of two or three years, then, the *Letters* and the *Epigrams* actually do overlap. But it would be fairer to calculate by the midpoints of the two collections (the years 92 and 102 respectively), and to say that Pliny's correspondence generally reflects the society of the capital as it was ten years after Martial was active there. There will be people among Martial's friends who retired or died during these ten years, so that Pliny could not have had an opportunity to befriend them. Conversely, there will be friends of Pliny who were too young to have known Martial. Nevertheless, the great majority of their respective acquaintances, who in each case range from the young to the old, ought to be contemporaries.

Second, the two groups are parallel in composition. The persons introduced in the *Epigrams* and the *Letters* are not for the most part the intimate associates and peers in the one case of Martial and in the other of Pliny. Each group is a microcosm of the larger society inhabiting the capital, comprising the rich and the not rich, the eminent and the undistinguished. We can of course perceive a more varied complex of people in Pliny's correspondence -- political and professional associates,

³⁸ The thesis of the following pages has already been stated by Syme (*Tacitus* [Oxford 1958] I 88): "The two poets . . . competed for the favour of various patrons. Some of these patrons were of Pliny's own age or rank and might appear to share his literary tastes. Hardly any of them turn up again in Pliny's circle . . ." To this just observation I would only add a few paragraphs by way of illustration and argument.

³⁹ In volume I of his commentary, pp. 51-67.

⁴⁰ A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford 1966) 27-41.

personal dependents, literary friends, regional connections — than in the *Epigrams*, where we can distinguish little more than rich friends, poor friends, and casual acquaintances. But despite the paucity of detail concerning Martial's friends, the fact is clear that both groups show a mixing of classes.

It is conceivable, therefore, that the people of Martial's poems might frequently appear in Pliny's letters, depending on how closely-knit society at large was. There were factors which favored a convergence in any case. Martial desired access to people with wealth, fame, and a following, all of which several of Pliny's friends enjoyed. On the other side, Pliny liked to associate with literary people, and in that world Martial must have had connections as extensive as anyone's.

Let us compare their acquaintances, then, at first on a rough and ready basis, matching the friends of Martial against the friends of Pliny en bloc. Afterward some objections can be considered and some refinements introduced.

There is an overlap between the people met in the *Epigrams* and those met in the *Letters* which at first seems impressive. Three of Martial's senatorial patrons (Licinius Sura, Domitius Apollinaris, and Baebius Macer) reappear as friends of Pliny.⁴¹ And concerning three others

⁴¹ Sura (*PIR*² L 253 and, of fundamental importance, C. P. Jones, *JRS* 60 [1970] 98-104); Martial 1.49, 6.64, 7.47; Pliny 4.30. Apollinaris (*PIR*² D 133): Martial 4.86, 7.26, 89, 10.30, 11.15; Pliny 2.9, 5.6. Macer (*PIR*² B 20): Martial 10.18, 12.98; Pliny 3.5.

I cannot accept the current belief that Pliny's friend and mentor Sex. Julius Frontinus is to be counted among the patrons of Martial. It is true that Martial refers to him in 10.48.20, where he gives the consular year of the wine he intends to serve at a dinner party: "de Nomentana vinum sine faece lagona / quae bis Frontino consule trima fuit." Sex. Julius Frontinus was consul for the second time in 98, the year in which Martial's tenth book was reissued in revised form, and he is the only consular Frontinus known for a couple of decades. Hence it is reasonably assumed that he is the consul whom Martial has in mind. But no one could claim that the use of Frontinus' name in a consular date establishes him among Martial's patrons. This belief is based rather on another poem in the same book (10.58), to a Frontinus who certainly is to be regarded as a patron:

Anxuris aequorei placidos, Frontine, recessus
et propius Baias litoreamque domum,
et quod inhumanae cancro fervente cicadae
non novere nemus, flumineosque lacus
dum colui, doctas tecum celebrare vacabat
Pieridas; nunc nos maxima Roma terit.
His mihi quando dies meus est? iactamur in alto
urbis, et in sterili vita labore perit,

(Domitius Tullus, Aquilius Regulus, and Silius Italicus) Pliny has a good deal to say.⁴² Both knew Quintilian,⁴³ and probably the Vibius Maximus who eventually governed Egypt.⁴⁴ Martial's patron Restitutus⁴⁵ has in common with Pliny's friend Claudius Restitutus his cognomen, social eminence, the profession of law, and a taste for literature; it is generally believed that they are the same man. If one adds to these all the identifications which can be propounded on the strength of an identical nomen or cognomen, but for which no other corrobora-

dura suburbani dum iugera pascimus agri
vicinosque tibi, sancte Quirine, lares.
Sed non solus amat qui nocte dieque frequentat
limina nec vatem talia damna decent.
per veneranda mihi Musarum sacra, per omnes
iuro deos: Et non officiosus amo.

No good foundation exists for the universal assumption that this man is the same as the two-time consul. The cognomen Frontinus occurs so often that it has little value for narrowing the identification of a particular person. The opulence surrounding Martial's patron would suit an *eques* as well as a senator. On the negative side, it is perhaps unimportant that Martial located Frontinus at Anxur, while at about the same time the military writer Aelian visited him at Formiae (*Tactica*, *praef.* [= Köchly-Rustow, *Griech. Kriegsschriftsteller* 2.236]). Frontinus might have migrated from one villa to another. And it is not surprising, given Martial's reticence about discussing public honors, that he should make no allusion to Frontinus' employments or exalted station. But it is difficult to believe that a polymath who seems to have shared the temperament of the elder Pliny would pass his vacations writing verses with the Flavian Ogden Nash, as verses 5-6 would indicate. Still, even that is possible. The strongest objection is this: why is there no allusion to Frontinus' many writings? By the year 98 Frontinus had published books on land surveying and military science and stratagems, and he was busy with a treatise on Roman aqueducts. Martial made a consistent effort to discover and pander to his patrons' sensitivities, and was especially alert to their literary interests: he would hardly have overlooked Frontinus' books. Therefore the Frontinus of 10.58 was probably not their author.

⁴² Tullus (*PIR*² D 167): Martial 1.36, 3.20.17, 5.28.3, 9.51; Pliny 8.18. Regulus (*PIR*² A 1005): Martial 1.12, 82, 111, 2.74.2, 2.93, 4.16.5-6, 5.10, 5.21, 5.28.6, 5.63.4, 6.38, 6.64.11, 7.16, 31; Pliny 1.5, 1.20.14, 2.11.22, 2.20, 4.2, 7, 6.2. Silius (R. Syme, *Tacitus* I 88 n. 7, and G. F. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul* [Oxford 1941] 109-111): Martial, 4.14, 6.64, 7.63, 8.66, 9.86, 11.48, 50, 12.67; Pliny 3.7.

⁴³ Quintilian (*PIR*² F 59): Martial 2.90; Pliny 2.14.9, 6.6.3.

⁴⁴ Vibius Maximus (see now *Historia* 22 [1973] 295-301): Martial 11.106; Pliny 3.2.

⁴⁵ Restitutus (*PIR*¹ R 38): Martial 10.87; Pliny 3.9.16, 6.17.

tion exists,⁴⁶ the list would run to about a score of persons who have a footing in both the *Letters* and the *Epigrams*.

But that estimate is unwarrantably generous. Not all the people whom Pliny knew, or about whom he writes, qualify as friends or associates. Domitius Tullus he obviously despised; Regulus he disliked and sought to outstrip. What he writes about Silius Italicus manifests no warmth, though he is not so censorious as with the other two. And if one excludes also the merely possible identifications which rest uncertainly on a coincidence of *cognomina*, the number drops to about seven.

Seven mutual friends out of how many altogether? Martial's friends and patrons number approximately 140. A comparable group can be isolated among the people of Pliny's *Letters* with the help of Sherwin-White's list of contemporary persons.⁴⁷ If we select from this list only those contemporaries who emerge as in some sense friends of Pliny, and, further, if we exclude from this group those friends whom Martial

⁴⁶ Any list of persons who bear the same name should be preceded by a firm reminder that, by themselves, such coincidences are of little value in determining identity. Even when both *nomen* and *cognomen* are the same, homonymous persons have with discouraging frequency turned out not to be identical; compare the recent remarks of R. Syme, *JRS* 58 (1968) 142-143.

The following list regards only the possible friends of each party. I have excluded persons whom Martial or Pliny mentions but does not seem to know personally or to like.

The Ruso of Martial (M) 5.28.4 may be the recipient of Pliny (P) 9.19 (though he is more likely to be a younger man, the Cremutius Ruso of P 6.23.2). The Pollio of M 3.20.18 could be the Claudius Pollio of P 7.31. Marcellinus of M 3.6, 6.25, 7.80, 9.45, bears the same cognomen as Aefulanus Marcellinus of P 8.23. Bassus in M 3.47, 3.58 and 7.96, might be the Gavius Bassus of P 10.21, 22, or the Julius Bassus of P 4.9, 5.20.1, 6.29.10, or the Pomponius Bassus of P 4.23. The Celer of M 7.52 may be the same as the Celer of P 7.17, who may in turn be identical with the Caecilius Celer of P 1.5.8. Clemens in M 10.93.1 might be Attius Clemens, P 1.10, 4.2. The Atilius of M 9.85 may be Atilius Crescens, P 6.8.1, 1.9.8, 2.14.2. Martial's good friend Severus may be identical with Pliny's friend Herennius Severus (4.28) or Vibius Severus (3.18, 4.28). Another good friend of Martial's, Flaccus, might be the Calpurnius Flaccus of P 5.2. The Fuscus of M 1.54, and 7.28, could be Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, P 6.26.1. Nepos in M 6.27, 10.48.5, 13.124, may be Varisidius Nepos (P 4.4) or Maecilius Nepos (P 2.3, 3.16, 4.26, 6.19). Quintianus in M 1.52, 5.18, could be Pompeius Quintianus in P 9.9. Sparsus in M 12.57 may be Julius Sparsus, P 4.5, 8.3. Finally, several of Martial's friends are surnamed Rufus, as are several of Pliny's; possibly one or two of these belonged to both groups. (Paternus [M 12.53] has been identified with Plinius Paternus, P 1.21, 8.16, 9.27, but this is a mistake. The name in Martial should be regarded as fictitious.)

⁴⁷ *Letters of Pliny* (above, n. 40) 738-762.

could not have known (because they were mere children at the time of Martial's residence in Rome, or because they are strictly local connections of Pliny, who seem never to have dwelt in Rome),⁴⁸ there are about 115 *amici* who can be compared with Martial's 140. Mutual friends obviously constitute a very small portion of the people whom they each knew. The two men, though they both had friends at every social level, did not have many of the same friends.

This demonstration glides over certain differences between Martial and Pliny. In the first place, some allowance should be made for the difference in their ages: Pliny enjoyed his greatest prestige in the decade after Martial's retirement and death. But this difference would not seriously affect the argument. Many of Pliny's friends belonged to Martial's generation, and some were even older; while Martial counted among his patrons many who were coeval with Pliny — his most constantly courted patrons, in fact, Arruntius Stella and Flaccus. The age of the principals would not of itself have discouraged greater intermingling between their respective societies.

It is true also that the two men belonged to different classes, Pliny being the patron, Martial the client; Pliny the rich senator, Martial an *eques* of humble standing. But these distinctions, though they would doubtlessly have affected their comportment vis-à-vis each other, would not have caused them to travel in separate circles. As it is, we find each man associated with a very diverse company of people. Many of the persons whom Martial knew had pretensions equal to Pliny's; not all, or even most, were of Martial's own class. The point at issue is that the *amici maiores* whom Martial does name are not, by and large, the friends with whom Pliny associated.

Finally, one might object that in the society of a world capital like Rome, it should cause no surprise if two men were able to build up a network of acquaintances which had little to do with each other. This objection would have weight even if Martial and Pliny were men with similar backgrounds and similar interests. Since they had very little in common, it may seem entirely gratuitous to insist that they might have been expected to share more of the same acquaintances.

⁴⁸ To be sure, although Pliny provides more information about his friends than Martial does about his, he does not always provide enough. We can exclude those friends concerning whom we learn some fact about age or provenance which makes it impossible for them to have known Martial. But we have no idea how many of those remaining, about whom we have no information, should also be excluded. Details about the friends of Martial are so sparsely provided that I have not even tried to narrow down his 140 *amici* by eliminating those too old to have made the acquaintance of Pliny.

Rather than compare all the people of the *Epigrams* with all the people of the *Letters*, therefore, let us narrow the survey. The one interest which might well have drawn Martial and Pliny into the same milieu was their writing. To a greater extent than today, as I recalled at the beginning of this paper, literature at Rome was a collective endeavor. The book aborning generated a considerable society of its own, composed of the associates who had received early drafts, auditors who had heard the recitations, and friends and patrons who received the final copy.⁴⁹ And quite apart from needing literary advice and support, Martial and Pliny enjoyed the company of literary friends. One might reasonably expect, then, to find that the principal *littérateurs* — writers and patrons — are bound together in a close web of interrelationships (as one does in fact find them bound together during the Augustan period).

The *Letters* disclose about fifty of Pliny's associates who can be described as "literary friends,"⁵⁰ because they receive letters whose subject is chiefly literary, or because they write some form of prose or poetry or are otherwise known to have taken an interest in the literature of their day. As one might have guessed, most of the few acquaintances whom Martial shared with Pliny turn up in this group: Sura, Macer, Apollinaris, Quintilian, and Restitutus. What is astonishing is

⁴⁹ See the excellent remarks by A.-M. Guillemin, *Pline et la vie littéraire de son temps* (Paris 1929) 41ff.

⁵⁰ I find I have arrived independently at the same figure given by Guillemin (above, n. 49) 23: "Les amis que Pline entretient de questions littéraires sont au nombre d'environ cinquante." She does not specify, but they can be listed as follows (the numbers following each name refer to the letter establishing each man as literary friend): Arrianus Maturus (3.2.3, 1.2, 8.21), Arrius Antoninus (4.3, 18), Baebius Macer (3.5), Calpurnius Piso (5.17), Caninius Rufus (1.3, 7, 6.21 8.4), Claudius Pollio (7.31.5), Claudius Restitutus (6.17), Cornelius Minicianus (8.12), Cornelius Tacitus (1.20, 7.33, 9.10), Erucius (1.16), Fannius (5.5.3), Genialis (8.13), Julius Genitor (7.30), Julius Naso (6.6.6), Julius Sparsus (4.5, 8.3), Lupercus (2.5, 9.26), Macrinus (9.4), Maecilius Nepos (4.26), Mamilius (9.25), Maximus (8.19), Minicius Fundanus (7.12), Nepos (2.3), Novius Maximus (4.20), Octavius Rufus (1.7, 2.10), Passennus Paulus (6.15, 9.22), Pedanius Fuscus Salinator (7.9), Plinius Paternus (9.27), Pompeius Falco (4.27), Pompeius Quintianus (9.9.2), Pompeius Saturninus (1.8, 16, 9.38), Pontius Allifanus (7.4), Rufus (7.25), Rusticus (9.29), Sabinus (9.2, 18) Sentius Augurinus (4.27, 9.8), Septicius Clarus (1.1), Severus (9.22), Silius Proculus (3.15), Sosius Senecio (1.13), Suetonius Tranquillus (5.10, 10.94), Terentius Junior (7.25, 8.15), Titius Aristo (1.22), Titinius Capito (1.17, 5.8, 8.12), Vergilius Romanus (6.21), Verginius Rufus (5.3.5), Vestricius Spurinna (3.1.7, 5.17), Vibius Severus (3.18), Voconius Romanus (6.15, 9.28). Other friends, like Domitius Apollinaris, can be presumed to have had literary interests on the basis of other evidence.

that all the rest of Pliny's literary friends are missing from the *Epigrams* — including the old dilettanti Verginius Rufus, Vestricius Spurinna, and Arrius Antoninus; including also that notable patron of the arts, Titinius Capito, the orator and historian Cornelius Tacitus, and the student of oratory Fabius Justus.⁵¹ Conversely, of the many poet-patrons or poet-comrades whom Martial mentions,⁵² Pliny seems to have known only Silius Italicus, and this despite his assertion of universal friendship with literary people: "neque enim est fere quisquam qui studia ut non simul et nos amet" (*Epist.* 1.13.5). It would seem that the friends whom Pliny found congenial for their literary interest differed as much from Martial's audience as Martial's had differed from Statius'.

The society to which the *Silvae* were addressed had even less in common with Pliny's circle. Although men of every age are found among the recipients of Statius' poems, not one of them is numbered among the friends of Pliny.

To sum up: if the *Silvae*, the *Epigrams*, and the *Letters* do fairly represent the milieu in which the literature of the late first century was written, that literature did not owe spirit or shape to the exertions of one particular circle of writers, poets, and patrons. We have to do with three separate groups (or aggregates), not with a literary circle in the Augustan sense. This diversity carries several implications, but what it suggests first of all is that there did not exist a well-known group of patrons predisposed to encourage and subsidize writers. Else we would discover more homogeneity among the respective audiences.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

⁵¹ Apart from these literary friends, there are at least two persons within Pliny's circle of acquaintances whom it seems remarkable that Martial did not manage to befriend: the genial Ummidia Quadratilla, and the important fellow-Spaniard Julius Ursus Servianus.

⁵² In the following list the numbers refer to the passage of the *Epigrams* which establishes each man as a poet: Arruntius Stella (6.21), Brutianus (4.23), (Caecilius) Secundus (5.80.13), Canius Rufus (1.61.9), Carus (9.23.4), Castricus (6.68.6), Cerrinius (8.18), M. Cocceius Nerva (8.70), Collinus (4.54), Decianus (1.39), Faustinus (1.25), Flaccus (1.76), Frontinus (10.58.5-6), Julius Cerialis (11.52), Julius Rufus (10.99), Juvenalis (7.91.1), Lucensis (1.2.7), Marcus (10.73), Novius Vindex (9.43.14), Parthenius (9.49.3), Potitus (10.70.2), (Scaevus) Memor (11.9), Severus (11.57), Sextus (5.5.1), Silius Italicus (4.14), Sulpicia (10.35), (Terentius) Priscus (7.46), Turnus (11.10), Unicus (12.44), Varro (5.30), and Voconius Victor (8.63 and 7.29).

TWO GHOST-WORDS AND A CONSUL: INSCRIPTIONS OF PERGAMUM AND TARSUS

THOMAS DREW-BEAR

IN *Altertümer von Pergamon* VIII 3, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, C. Habicht published as no. 113b on p. 128 a metrical dedication to Asklepios (*Bull. épigr.*, 1971 p. 486 no. 546) which reads as follows:

Σοί, μεγαρίστε θεῶν,
[Ἄσ]κληπιέ, θῆκε Διώνη
[ἀργύρεο]ν τὸ κάτοπτρον
4 [— — — — —] I.. NΩ

The restoration was furnished to Habicht by W. Peek.

The editor devotes no comment to the word *μεγάριστος*, although it is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* and is not registered in LSJ or its supplement; this new word was not even included in the index of "Wörter" on pp. 197-199 of *Pergamon* VIII 3, although it does figure in the index "Religion und Kultus" on p. 196 among the epithets of Asklepios. In fact **μεγάριστος* does not exist, for the correct word division in line 1 of this dedication is clearly μέγ' ἄριστε. The phrase occurs in numerous passages of the *Iliad*, e.g., 2.82: μέγ' ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν; 2.274: τόδε μέγ' ἄριστον; 2.763: ἵπποι μὲν μέγ' ἄρισται; 2.768, 6.209, etc. (cf. *Odyssey* 22.29, 23.121; *Hymn* 15).

Compare L. Robert, *Hellenica* VII 198, where the first line of an honorific epigram at Tarsus is given as:

Ῥωμαίων ὑπατον, μεγέξοχον ἐν Κιλικεσσιν

(cf. *Hellenica* VIII 79, reporting a different transcription of the same text with μέγ' ἔξοκον [sic]). This phrase also occurs in the *Iliad*, 2.480: μέγ' ἔξοχος ἐπλετο πάντων; and the *Odyssey*, 15.227: μέγ' ἔξοχα δώματα ναίων.

It is apparent that this line of the epigram at Tarsus contains a metrical error. Robert remarks, "l'épigrammatiste a soif de grands mots glorieux, fût-ce aux dépens de la métrique." Now that μέγ' ἔξοχον is explained as a Homeric borrowing, suspicion naturally concentrates upon the word which precedes it in the line, especially since Robert perceptively notes that "la photographie semble montrer que le mot

ὑπατον a été gravé sur un autre mot martelé." The text of this epigram (divided into lines, not as it is arranged on the stone) reads as follows:

Εὐτύχι 'Ημέρι
 'Ρωμαίων ὑπατον, μέγ' ἔξοχον ἐν Κιλίκεσσιν,
 εἵνεκα καὶ παιδὸς πανυπέρτατον ἐν πολιήταις,
 τούτῳ γὰρ βασιλῆς δώκαν γέρας ὄφρα οἱ υἱὸς
 4 συνκλήτου βουλῆς μετέχοι πολυκυδέα τειμήν,
 τρεῖς στεφάνους ἑξῆς [ᾠ]ναδησάμενον παναρίστους
 δημιουργὸν παπείν Κιλικάρχην γυμνασίαρχον
 σύνδικον ἀγνότατον, βουλῆς στέφος, εὐγενὲς αἶμα
 8 Δῆμητρος θεράποντες ἀγακλέα τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν.

It is important to observe that the metrical error in line 1 is the only such lapse contained in the poem.

Since the word ὑπατον is carved on a *rasura*, it is a reasonable deduction that it must have replaced a different word which originally furnished one of the two metrical patterns necessary to make the line scan properly. Furthermore, it is a probable hypothesis that the word which originally stood here was likewise a title or designation of rank, replaced without regard to the meter by the more glorious title of ὑπατον, which was evidently bestowed upon the honorand at a time subsequent to the composition and engraving of the epigram.

Examination of the excellent photograph published by Robert (pl. XXIV) reveals that only the last four letters of ὑπατον are carved in a *rasura*, whereas the first two remain from the original inscription. The nu which ends the word cannot (for metrical reasons) have stood in the original text, and in fact close inspection of the photograph reveals traces of a triangular letter underneath the nu, which can in this context only be alpha. Finally, it is remarkable that the upsilon is far taller than all of the other letters owing to the fact that its two branches rise, by their entire length, above the top of the line; since there is no *rasura* here, it is reasonable to deduce that this letter must in the original version of the epigram have been an iota, which was later converted to an upsilon by addition of the two branches.¹

The word which stood here and was subsequently replaced by ὑπατον must therefore have begun with iota pi and ended with alpha; it must designate a rank inferior to that of consul; and it must fill the

¹ For another example of this expedient (used simply to correct a mason's error), see the commentary by G. Daux on an inscription of Thessalonike, *CRAI* (1972) 480: "Une fois, l. 18, dans le premier Y de *αυτου*, le graveur, ayant écrit par erreur un I complet, a ajouté, débordant dans l'interligne, les deux obliques nécessaires."

metrical vacancy. Clearly these conditions can all be met only by one single word: *ἱππηῆα*.

Recognition of the honorand's original rank which he held at the time this epigram was composed enables us to understand better its structure and the thoughts which it expresses. After the first line which gives Hemerios' rank and nationality the poet did not begin to describe his career and accomplishments but instead turned immediately to the theme of his son; even more remarkably, it is "because of his son" that Hemerios is said to be preeminent among his fellow citizens. The two following lines explain in some length the reason why this is so, namely that the emperors have allowed Hemerios' son to sit in the Roman senate; and it is only after this long digression occupying three lines that the poet returns to the topic of Hemerios' own accomplishments, which are enumerated in a list which itself fills only three lines. Thus almost as much attention is devoted in this epigram to Hemerios' son as to the honorand himself, which is very curious as the poem now stands: for it was after all hardly an unusual honor for a Roman consul that his son should be a member of the senate, nor are any achievements of the son mentioned which would explain how his membership in this body could bring additional glory to his consular father.

The discovery that Hemerios was only a Roman knight at the time this inscription was erected solves all of these problems. It is clear that after Hemerios had attained the summit of local and even provincial dignity his son was raised by the reigning emperors to senatorial rank, and it is this fact which constituted Hemerios' greatest honor at the time the poem was composed. Subsequently Hemerios too was given the rank of senator and then named consul² — a feat which he insisted on recording even by this change in a monument which was already standing, despite the fact that the substitution of *ὑπατον* for *ἱππηῆα* spoiled not only the meter but also the logical structure of the poem in his honor.³

DUMBARTON OAKS

² He is registered with this rank in *PIR*² IV p. 69 no. 83. For his career, cf. that of Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes, father of the famous sophist (*ibid.* II p. 173 no. 801).

³ Professor Robert has informed me that he is in agreement with this interpretation.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA TO THE SARDIANS

ROBERT J. PENELLA

LETTERS of Apollonius of Tyana, the first-century Pythagorean sage and wonder-worker, have been preserved in Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii* and in the *Anthology* of John of Stobi. In addition, seventy-seven letters have been transmitted independently, of which seven (*Epp. Apol.* 38–41, 56, 75, 76) are addressed to the people of Sardis.¹ In these seven letters Apollonius upbraids the Sardians for the civil strife and discord that they have brought upon themselves. Their factionalism has reached such an extreme that Apollonius has abandoned the idea of visiting Sardis in despair of being able to help the community.

Apollonius' involvement with Sardis receives no mention in our chief source of information (and legend) about the first-century sage, Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*; however, Apollonius does frequently appear in Philostratus' biography as a political conciliator or adviser in other cities of Asia Minor.² Dissension there, both between cities and within cities, was common enough toward the end of the first century, and troubles specifically at Sardis are attested by Plutarch as well as in the letters of Apollonius.³

My thanks to Professors Glen W. Bowersock, George M. A. Hanfmann, and C. P. Jones for their suggestions and criticisms, and to the Reverend Joseph Paramelle, S.J., of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, for leading me to Codex Matritensis 4637.

¹ Editions: C. L. Kayser, ed., *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt*² (Zürich 1853), in which a critical edition of the letters appears as a supplement to Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii* (Kayser's *editio minor*, *Flavii Philostrati opera* [Leipzig 1870–71] I 345ff, is more easily obtainable); R. Hercher, *Epistolographi graeci* (Paris 1873) 110ff; F. C. Conybeare, *Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass./London 1912) II 408ff. In all of these editions *Epp. Apol.* 78–97 are from John of Stobi. Hercher included the letters from Philostratus' *Vita* as *Epp. Apol.* 98–117.

² E.g., *Vita Apol.* 1.15 (Aspendus and other cities of Pamphylia and Cilicia), 4.8–9 (Smyrna), 6.38 (Antioch).

³ See David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) I 599–600; C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1971) 117.

An eighth letter to Sardis may now be added to the seven in our collection. The new letter, unknown to modern editors, appears in four manuscripts: Codex Leidensis B.P.G. 73D, folio 198v; Codex Mediceus Laurentianus 12, pluteus 57, folio 114; Codex Matritensis 4637 (= Codex Graecus Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis N 116), f. 10; and Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1353, f. 91.⁴

Codex Leidensis offers a collection of sixty-three letters of Apollonius following after Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*.⁵ Both the *Vita* and the letters were probably transcribed in the first half of the fourteenth century. This codex is unusual among manuscripts of the letters on two counts: it presents the sixty-three letters in irregular company — letters of Apollonius are found elsewhere in epistolographical anthologies, not with Philostratus' *Vita* — and it arranges the letters in what appears to be a unique order (see DeMeyier's catalogue). The unpublished letter is the first of seven Sardinian letters found grouped together in this collection; *Epp. Apol.* 40 is not included. It is peculiar that C. L. Kayser, the nineteenth-century editor of the letters, upon whose work later editors heavily relied, did not spot the unpublished letter in Leidensis, since he was well acquainted with this manuscript and regularly reports its variants in his apparatus.⁶

Codex Mediceus Laurentianus and Codex Matritensis are both primarily epistolographical anthologies of the fifteenth century. In each manuscript the new letter appears as the second in a cluster of four letters of Apollonius. The first letter of this cluster is merely an excerpt from *Epp. Apol.* 55, ἐστιαίω: ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐνὶ τρεῖς γεγόναμεν, ἡμῖν δὲ τρισὶν οὕτε εἰς; the third and fourth letters are *Epp. Apol.* 47 and 49. This is the shortest recurring cluster of letters of Apollonius that I have encountered; but compare the brief cluster *Epp. Apol.* 1, 58, 55, 50, 44, 35 found in Codex Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 205, Codex Palatinus Gr. 134, and Codex Mutinensis 54.

⁴ The following descriptions of the manuscripts are partly based on these catalogues: Angelo M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Laurentianae* (Florence 1764-70) II 350-354; J. Iriarte, *Regiae bibliothecae Matritensis codices graeci manuscripti* (Madrid 1769) I 466-475; K. A. DeMeyier, *Codices bibliothecae publicae graeci* (Leiden 1965) 130-131. I am working with microfilms of Mediceus Laurentianus, Matritensis, and Vaticanus Graecus, and with a photostatic copy of Leidensis.

⁵ DeMeyier's catalogue incorrectly lists 64 letters; delete *Epp. Apol.* 48 from his list.

⁶ See his *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt*² (Zürich 1853), preface of the *Vita Apollonii* xi-xii, xvi, and apparatus of the *Epistulae*; cf. his *Flavii Philostrati opera* (Leipzig 1870-71) I xxv. Kayser refers to the manuscript as Lugdunensis 73.

The texts of the cluster of four letters in Mediceus Laurentianus and in Matritensis share a very close stemmatic relationship, as their following distinctive variants indicate: in the excerpt from *Epp. Apol.* 55, ἡμῖν δὲ τρισὶν οὔτε for τρισὶ δ' ἡμῖν οὐδέ; in *Epp. Apol.* 47, τυανέων ἄρχουσι for τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, om. προστάττουσιν, τῇ πόλει for πόλει, om. εἴη, μεταπέμποιντο for μεταπέμποιτο, ποιῶν for περιποιῶν, om. καὶ ὄνομα; in *Epp. Apol.* 49, ἥσθην καὶ πάνν τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασι for πάνν τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασιν ἥσθην. The two manuscripts also offer a slightly expanded text of *Epp. Apol.* 49: at the end of the sentence that closes with the words ὅτι τάχιστα, both manuscripts have καὶ ταύτῃ που καὶ θεοῦ παραινούντος. In the text of the new letter the only difference between the two manuscripts is Matritensis' μόνον for Mediceus Laurentianus' μόνων (see below).

Leidensis has all four letters of the cluster found in Mediceus Laurentianus and in Matritensis (though not grouped together) and shares a number of the distinctive variants of Mediceus Laurentianus and Matritensis. It has the excerpt from *Epp. Apol.* 55 on folio 198 with the distinctive phraseology ὑμῖν [sic] δὲ τρισὶ οὔτε εἰς (the complete *Epp. Apol.* 55 does not appear in this collection); Leidensis' *Epp. Apol.* 47 on folio 200 has τῇ πόλει and omits προστάττουσιν, εἴη and καὶ ὄνομα; and Leidensis' *Epp. Apol.* 49 on folio 200v has the phraseology ἥσθην καὶ πάνν κτλ., though it lacks the expanded text of Mediceus Laurentianus and Matritensis. Furthermore, the remaining fifty-nine letters of Leidensis display many variants and omissions (see Kayser's apparatus) that are not shared by other manuscripts of the letters that I have collated (some fifteen). Although a complete stemma of the manuscripts will have to wait for future research, it appears that the three witnesses under discussion will belong to a distinct and not well represented branch of the tradition; this branch is the carrier of the new letter, which at some point in the tradition failed to be transmitted to the better-represented branch(es).

My collation of Codex Vaticanus Graecus shows that it cannot be grouped with the three witnesses discussed above, but rather will belong to the better-represented branch(es). It has a full collection of ninety-one letters of Apollonius in the commonly found order.⁷ *Epp. Apol.* 47, 49, and 55 (full text) in this collection have none of the distinctive variants found in Mediceus Laurentianus, Matritensis, and Leidensis, and the peculiar variants and omissions in Leidensis' remaining letters are not shared by Vaticanus Graecus. This does not

⁷Namely, *Epp. Apol.* 1-42, 98-105 Hercher, 43-77, 106-109 Hercher, 111-112 Hercher.

mean that we have found a manuscript from the better-represented branch(es) that carries the unpublished Sardian letter: the new Sardian letter in this manuscript is not a part of the original text, but rather appears as a marginal addition on folio 91, to the right of *Epp. Apol.* 76. The hand of both the main text and of the marginal addition is that of Constantine Lascaris, who also transcribed Matritensis.⁸ The texts of the unpublished Sardian letter in Matritensis and Vaticanus Graecus are identical except for an editorial adjustment that Lascaris made in the heading of the letter in Vaticanus Graecus (see my apparatus below). In both occurrences of the Sardian letter Lascaris has emended (incorrectly) an inherited *καρπόν* to *καρπός*; in Matritensis the original *nu* may still be read under the sigma. Undoubtedly the Sardian letter in the margin of Vaticanus Graecus derives directly from Matritensis: at some point Lascaris compared his two epistolographical collections and noted that Vaticanus Graecus lacked the Sardian letter of Matritensis. He added the Sardian letter. He also added Matritensis' one-sentence excerpt from *Epp. Apol.* 55 (thinking it to be a new item) to Vaticanus Graecus on folio 90v, to the left of *Epp. Apol.* 73.

There follows a text of the new letter with translation and comments:

N = Leidensis B.P.G. 73D

L = Mediceus Laurentianus 12, plut. 57

M = Matritensis 4637

V = Vaticanus Gr. 1353

τοῖς ἐν Σάρδ<εσιν>· αἰτίαν ἔχετε τὴν πάτριον θεὰν σέβειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν.
ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὀνομάζεται παρ' οἷς μὲν θεῶν, παρ' οἷς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων,
παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ καρπῶν· ἡ δὲ μία κοινή τε καὶ πάντων. εἰτα πῶς μόνων
ὑμῶν ἐχθρὰ τὰ γένη νόμῳ καὶ φύσει καὶ ἔθει, τῶν Δήμητρος ἰδίων;

Σάρδ<εσιν>] explevi: Σάρδοι N: τοῖς αὐτοῖς (sc. τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν) V || τὴν πάτριον]
πατρικὴν N || δὲ μήτηρ scripsi: δημήτηρ NLMV || interpunctum habent LMV
post ὀνομάζεται || καρπῶν N: καρπόν L: καρπός MV (corr. ex καρπόν M) || μόνων
L: μόνον NMV

To the Sardians: You are well known for your worship and veneration of your ancestral goddess. Her title is "mother of the gods" according to some, "mother of mankind" according to others, and — by general consent — "mother of the earth's produce"; but in fact she is the one common mother of all. So why is it that you alone, the special wards of

⁸ Lascaris identifies himself as the transcriber in both manuscripts. Cf. Iriarte (above, n. 4) 466 (table of contents), 470 (fol. 60); M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig 1909) 242ff. s.v. Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Λάσκαρις.

Demeter, have clans that are at odds with law, nature, and established custom?

τοῖς ἐν Σάρδ(εσιν): N's Σάρδοι is an incorrect supplement of an inherited Σάρδ (found in L and M); cf. the equally incorrect scribal variant Σάρδοις found next to Σάρδεσιν in the margins of the Sardian letters of Codex Mediceus Laurentianus 45, plut. 57. The periphrastic τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν, which perhaps originated from the text of *Epp. Apol.* 38(q.v.), appears as the heading of *Epp. Apol.* 38 and 75 in the standard collection.

πάτριον: N's πατρικήν appears to be a morphological trivialization.

ἡ δὴ μήτηρ κτλ.: None of the manuscripts preserves what must be the correct division, δὴ μήτηρ. However, N is correctly void of the semicolon after ὀνομάζεται, a punctuation that gives nonsense in the other three manuscripts. Again, N alone displays a needed genitive, καρπῶν, at the end of the sentence. The corruption of an original καρπῶν to καρπόν would have been phonologically easy.⁹ I do not see what sense Lascaris thought that he was making here with his emendation καρπός. For παρά and the dative after the passive verb here instead of ὑπό and the genitive, cf. R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*³ (1898) II, 1, 511.

ἡ δὲ μία . . . πάντων: Apollonius rejects each of the three titles as too narrow; the maternity of the Sardian goddess is not restricted to gods or to mankind or to the earth's fruits, but embraces all of these.

ἐχθρὰ τὰ γένη νόμῳ καὶ φύσει καὶ ἔθει: Cf. *Epp. Apol.* 56, ἐχθροὶ γεγόνατε, and *Epp. Apol.* 76, in which Apollonius despairs of being able to make Sardis μίαν . . . ἥθει καὶ φύσει καὶ νόμῳ καὶ θεῷ. Though often confused with ἡθος, ἔθος should be retained in the new letter with the sense "custom," i.e., "unwritten νόμος"; cf. *Epp. Apol.* 71, ἔθη καὶ νόμοι. *Epp. Apol.* 56 and 75 further comment on the civil strife alluded to here: dissension has affected friendships, families and clans, the young and the old, women as well as men. Several enigmatic factions or associations (τάγματα) with obscene names have been largely responsible for the civil strife (*Epp. Apol.* 39-41).

τῶν Δήμητρος ἰδίων: This is now the second reference in the Sardian letters to Demeter as a major — apparently *the* major — goddess of Sardis. The other reference to her is in *Epp. Apol.* 75; after commenting on the civil strife at Sardis, the letter concludes: Ἐρινύων νομίσαι ἄν τις τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ οὐχὶ Δήμητρος. ἡ δὲ θεὰ φιλόανθρωπος· ὑμῖν δὲ τίς οὗτος

⁹ It is worth considering the possibility that the *vera lectio* was καρπού, which could have easily given rise to the corrupt καρπόν on palaeographical grounds. If so, N's καρπῶν would be a scribal emendation of an inherited καρπόν.

ὁ χόλος;¹⁰ Demeter does appear on Sardian coins of the empire standing, thrusting a torch into the entrance of the underworld, in a chariot with torch, and before the cult-effigy of Kore (= Persephone?); representations of Hades in a chariot bearing off Persephone also allude implicitly to Demeter.¹¹ The Demeter of the letters may be identical to the Demeter of the coins; however, since there is to my knowledge no evidence of a cult of Demeter at Sardis as prominent as the letters imply, we may ask whether another Sardian goddess lies hidden behind the name Demeter in the letters. Two possible candidates come to mind, the Sardian Kore and Cybele.

The Sardian Kore was probably originally a native Anatolian vegetation goddess. She was not obliterated by Artemis or Cybele, the major Sardian goddesses;¹² in fact, there seems to have been a revival of interest in her cult at Sardis in the second and third centuries A.D., when she probably served as the tutelary deity of the city.¹³ The equation of this goddess with Persephone, as suggested by several of the coins referred to above and by customary Greek practice, may not have been universal. The cult-effigy of Kore appears by itself on many Sardian coins (most notably on alliance coins),¹⁴ and the Sardian Kore

¹⁰ In his notes on the letters of Apollonius, Wilamowitz commented, "Wieso Sardes der Demeter gehört, sehe ich nicht"; "Lese Früchte CXCVIII," *Hermes* 60 (1925) 310 n. 2 = *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin 1935-) IV 398 n. 1.

¹¹ Standing: B. V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia* (London 1901), Sardis nos. 60, 61, 130, 73, 147, 154, 173, 193 (Demeter or Kore on the last five); *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Danish National Museum* (Copenhagen 1947) Lydia nos. 503, 506, 507. Thrusting: Head, Sardis no. 138; *SNG Copenhagen*, Lydia no. 527. Chariot: Head, Sardis nos. 125(?), 206. Kore: Head, Sardis nos. 187, 207; *SNG Deutschland* (Berlin 1963) Lydia no. 3164. Hades: Head, Sardis nos. 89, 131; *SNG Copenhagen*, Lydia no. 525.

¹² Artemis and Cybele at Sardis must now be regarded as two distinct alternatives and not one conflated goddess. Cf. G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Excavations at Sardis, 1958," *BASOR* 154 (1959) 32 n. 69; G. M. A. Hanfmann and Jane C. Waldbaum, "Kybebe and Artemis: Two Anatolian Goddesses at Sardis," *Archaeology* 22 (1969), especially pp. 265-267; J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Épigraphique," *REG* 84 (1971) 520.

¹³ On this goddess see G. M. A. Hanfmann and M. S. Balmuth, "The Image of an Anatolian Goddess at Sardis," *Anadolu Araştırmaları = Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 2 (1965) 261-269. A recently found Severan inscription at Sardis mentions three divinities, Koros, Eupo(sia), and a third female whose name is lost, as the "children of Kore"; see G. M. A. Hanfmann in M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," *AJA* 77 (1973) 186.

¹⁴ Head (above, n. 11), Sardis nos. 90-93, 145, 148, 149, 170, 200, 208, 209; *SNG Copenhagen*, Lydia nos. 513, 529, 532, 543, 544; *SNG Deutschland*, Lydia nos. 3141, 3165. Alliance coins: Head, Sardis nos. 215, 216, 218; also see Hanfmann and Balmuth (above, n. 13) 264.

may have been regarded as a vegetation goddess in her own right, not merely as an adjunct to Demeter. If so, an identification of the Sardian Kore with Demeter may be entertained, at least at certain times or in certain circles. The Demeter of our letters may be this Kore.

Alternatively, Cybele may be considered. Cybele was commonly identified with the Olympian Demeter (as well as with other Greek goddesses),¹⁵ and the writer of our Sardian letters may have wished to avoid the Phrygian appellation on puristic grounds. One point in the new letter especially speaks for an identification with Cybele: the insistence both explicitly and through the word-play *δὴ μήτηρ* on the title "mother." Cybele, of course, is the Anatolian "mother" par excellence. Thus, if identification of our Demeter with another Sardian goddess is the correct course, I would incline more toward Cybele than toward Kore.

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

¹⁵ See *RE* 11:2 (1922) 2270, 2279-80.

THE HOLDERS OF THE CHAIRS OF RHETORIC AT ATHENS

I. AVOTINS

PHILOSTRATUS in his *Lives of the Sophists*¹ mentions official chairs at Athens and gives the names of a number of incumbents. In this article² I intend to discuss the number of chairs, to establish which chair was held by each of the sophists said to have held one, and to arrange the holders of each chair in chronological order.

THE NUMBER OF CHAIRS

Philostratus, by far the best source, appears clearly to refer to two chairs. The sophist Lollianus is stated to have been the first holder of a chair at Athens: . . . προὔστη μὲν τοῦ Ἀθήνησι θρόνου πρῶτος . . . (*VS* 526). The year is not known. The foundation of the chair may be connected with the well-known educational measures of Antoninus Pius, who at some time during his rule *rhetoribus et philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria detulit* (*HA.*, Vita Pii, 11.3). The year of death of Lollianus is not known. The *Suda* places his *floruit* in the rule of Hadrian (s.v. Lollianos). His survival into the reign of Antoninus Pius appears to be attested by an Athenian inscription of 141–142 or 142–143.³ A second chair of rhetoric was established at Athens by the emperor Marcus Aurelius during the early 170s. Philostratus reports: Θεόδοτος . . . προὔστη δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων νεότητος πρῶτος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ βασιλείως μυρίαῖς (*VS* 566). The same event is mentioned by Cassius Dio: ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ἐλθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας . . . ἔδωκε . . . πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διδασκάλους . . . ἐπὶ πάσης λόγων παιδείας μισθὸν ἐτήσιον φέροντας (72[71] 31.3). Many scholars have assumed — and the above

¹ Philostratus *Vitae Sophistarum*, ed. C. L. Kayser (Leipzig 1871) (hereafter cited as *VS*).

² I wish to express my thanks to Professor G. W. Bowersock for his criticism of this paper.

³ *IG* 2-3², 1764 59–60 has this reading; Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ [-----ι] ρεὺς Ὀρδεώνιος Ἀ[ολλιανός]. . . The full name P. Hordeonius Lollianus is attested for him from *IG* 2-3² 4211.

passages of Philostratus and of Dio could perhaps allow that interpretation — that no new chair was established by Marcus and that he merely increased the salary of the existing chair to 40,000 sesterces.⁴ However, another statement by Philostratus clearly demonstrates the existence of a second chair. The Athenian sophist Apollonius, active during the reign of Septimius Severus, held at Athens a chair worth one talent, or 24,000 sesterces: ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος . . . τοῦ πολιτικοῦ θρόνου προεστὼς ἐπὶ ταλάντῳ (*VS* 600). Since the chair established by Marcus paid 40,000 sesterces, the chair held by Apollonius some thirty years later, paying less, cannot have been the same.⁵ In addition it has been held that two chairs must be postulated on grounds of terminology alone.⁶

There is not enough information to establish beyond all doubt the exact year of foundation of the imperial chair of rhetoric. Cassius Dio dates the liberalities of Marcus to the time of his visit to Athens. This visit took place in A.D. 176 (SIG³ 872). However, the narrative of Philostratus requires an earlier date, at least for the chair of rhetoric. When Marcus arrived in Athens this chair was already in existence. Its holder, the sophist Hadrian, had been appointed by Marcus himself (*VS* 588). Moreover, Hadrian was not even the first to hold it. Philostratus reports that the first holder of the imperial chair had been Theodotus (*VS* 566). Since Theodotus held the chair for two years (*VS* 567) and probably was succeeded directly by Hadrian his tenure must have extended from about A.D. 174 to A.D. 176; hence the imperial chair at Athens was established about A.D. 174. An earlier date for the establishment of the chair should not be posited without urgent necessity because Cassius Dio, a contemporary of Philostratus, was probably well acquainted with at least the approximate chronology of these events and should not

⁴ Among present-day scholars believing in only one chair one can mention H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*⁶ (Paris, 1965) 611–612, and J. Schwartz, *Biographie de Lucien de Samosate* (Brussels, 1965) 124.

⁵ Imperial chairs for philosophers worth 60,000 sesterces (600 aurei) are mentioned by the second-century Christian apologist Tatian. Although frequently used as evidence in connection with the chairs of rhetoric at Athens the chairs of Tatian are of no help here, because it is not known whether his speech was delivered before or after the Athenian endowments of Marcus Aurelius; furthermore, there is no particular reason to assume that he had Athenian chairs in mind. His statement is found in his *Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας*, "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur" 4:1, ed. E. Schwartz (Leipzig, 1888), §84.19.

⁶ K. Brandstaetter, "De notionum πολιτικός et σοφιστής usu rhetorico," *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie* 15 (1893) 194–195, 243–244 ὁ πολιτικός versus ὁ τῶν σοφιστῶν θρόνος.

have been grossly in error. Of course, his authority on this point is smaller than that of Philostratus, who had made a special study of these matters. The discrepancy between the information given by Cassius Dio and that by Philostratus may be accounted for by assuming that the chairs of philosophy, unlike the chair of rhetoric, were in fact established during the Athenian visit of Marcus. This hypothesis⁷ has recently been worked out in some detail by J. H. Oliver and appears to agree with the known facts.⁷ To sum up, after about A.D. 174 there were two salaried chairs of rhetoric at Athens, one probably municipal, the other established directly by the emperor, with salaries of 24,000 and 40,000 sesterces respectively.

THE HOLDERS OF THE MUNICIPAL AND OF THE IMPERIAL CHAIR

In the *Lives of the Sophists* nine sophists are directly stated to have held an Athenian chair: Lollianus (526), Theodotus (566), Hadrian (587), Pollux (593), Pausanias (594), Apollonius of Athens (600), Heraclides (613), Hippodromus (618), and Philiscus (621-22). Furthermore, the author of the *Prolegomena* to Aelius Aristides states that Herodes Atticus held the sophistic chair at Athens.⁸ However, any unsupported statement found in that farrago of errors must be viewed with extreme caution.

Before these sophists can be arranged in the order in which they held their chairs, it must be ascertained who of them held the municipal, who the imperial chair. Since M. Naechster, the author of the only work in this century to discuss the Athenian chairs in detail, believed in only one chair, he naturally made no attempt to arrange the sophists in two groups.⁹ While not without merit, Naechster's dissertation, the sole source, *inter alia*, of the much-mentioned quarrel between Pollux and Phrynichus, contains not a few mistakes of both fact and logic. When obvious they will be corrected tacitly.

Because of the vagueness of Philostratus, it is not always possible to establish whether the chair attributed by him to a certain sophist was municipal or imperial. E.g., in the cases of Pausanias and Hippodromus he mentions merely that they held the chair at Athens (594, 618).

⁷ J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius, Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East*. Hesperia, supp. XIII (Princeton, 1970) 80-84. In using this book one should consult the epigraphical corrections made by C. P. Jones, "A New Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Athenians," *ZPE* 8 (1971) 161-183.

⁸ F. W. Lenz, *The Aristides Prolegomena* (Leyden, 1959) 114.10.

⁹ M. Naechster, *De Pollucis et Phrynichi controversiis* (Leipzig, 1908) 35-46.

I have considered several criteria to be used to distinguish between the holders of the two chairs. Obviously, if it can be shown that a sophist held a salaried chair at Athens before about 174, the foundation date of the imperial chair, it was the municipal chair. Furthermore, if his salary is attested to differ from the amount of 40,000 sesterces specified for the imperial chair, he must have held the municipal chair. These two criteria place Lollianus and Apollonius of Athens among the holders of the municipal chair. If Herodes Atticus indeed held a salaried chair at Athens, it, too, must have been the municipal one. He could not have occupied the imperial chair after the sophist Hadrian, because the latter delivered the oration at Herodes's funeral in about 177 (PIR² C 802) and consequently still must have been the incumbent (*VS* 586). Since Theodotus was the first holder, Herodes, to have held the imperial chair, would have had to fit between the tenures of Theodotus and Hadrian. This is not likely. Since Theodotus was appointed c. 174 and had a tenure of two years (*VS* 567), he must have been succeeded directly by the sophist Hadrian, who is attested to have held the chair during the visit of Marcus in A.D. 176 (*VS* 588). Consequently, if Herodes held a chair at Athens, it was the municipal chair. Philostratus, however, does not mention any chairs for him. The scholiast (above, n. 8) may have automatically assumed that Herodes, if anyone, must have been worthy of a chair. One wonders, however, whether the lofty social position of Herodes was really compatible with becoming a paid sophist. All the other attested chair holders were at best provincial grandees of no significance among the senatorial aristocracy.

While one can state with confidence that Lollianus, Apollonius of Athens, and Herodes Atticus could not have held the imperial chair and that Theodotus did hold it (*VS* 566), it is more difficult to establish with certainty whether the remaining holders of chairs — Hadrian, Pollux, Pausanias, Heraclides, Hippodromus, and Philiscus — held the imperial or the municipal chair. Apart from the general vagueness of Philostratus one cause of this difficulty is our ignorance whether or not the municipal chair was filled by the emperor. Of the six sophists just mentioned, three — Hadrian, Pollux, and Philiscus — owed their chairs to the personal approval of the emperor (*VS* 588, 593, 622). One statement of Philostratus allows the inference that the Athenian municipal chair was not paid out of the imperial purse. He states that Theodotus was the first ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ βασιλέως μυρίαῖς (566). If the salary of the municipal chair was not dependent on the *fiscus* one can fairly hold that the selection of the incumbents was left to the Athenians themselves. Consequently, whenever we encounter imperial participa-

tion in matters pertaining to a chair — selection of a candidate, his dismissal, etc. — we should normally assume that the chair in question is the imperial one.¹⁰ If so, Hadrian, Pollux, and Philiscus held the imperial chair.

If imperial interference is used as a criterion then Heraclides, too, must have held the imperial chair. Philostratus reports that Heraclides was deprived of his immunity (*ἀτέλεια*) by the emperor Septimius Severus (601). Since Heraclides was a sophist and held a chair at Athens, it is reasonable to suppose that his immunity had been granted him in connection with his teaching. Modestinus is quoted in the *Digest* (27.1.6.4–5) as stating that it was within the competence of city councils to grant immunity in their cities to an imperially prescribed number of teachers of rhetoric. It follows by implication that if any such immune sophists were later deemed unworthy of their immunity, their privileges would normally be withdrawn by the same council that had granted them. On the other hand, if a sophist had been deprived of his immunity by the emperor, one would tend to assume that it had been given him by the emperor. Philostratus states that the immunity attached to the imperial chair at Athens was granted by the emperor (623). Consequently, if Heraclides had his immunity revoked by Severus, one may reasonably deduce that he was the incumbent of the imperial rather than the municipal chair — always assuming that the emperor had not used his power arbitrarily.

In the case of the remaining two chair holders, Pausanias and Hippodromus, none of the above criteria is of any use. In the case of Pausanias, we hear: τοῦ θρόνου . . . μετεῖχε . . . καὶ τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν (*VS* 594). Hippodromus is termed τὸν . . . Ἀθήνησι τῶν σοφιστῶν θρόνον κατασχών (618). The description of the chair of Pausanias could obviously apply to either of the two chairs; whether the description ὁ . . . τῶν σοφιστῶν θρόνος means that Hippodromus held the imperial chair can not be clearly determined on the basis of the terminology used by Philostratus. It is true that in his two clear references to the municipal chair Philostratus does not use any derivative of the term σοφιστής.¹¹ On the other hand, he also uses exactly the same description now for the municipal, now for the imperial chair.¹² His terminology here cannot be pressed.

¹⁰ Of course, the emperor could at any time exercise arbitrary authority, but it would be bad method to assume it unless attested.

¹¹ In *VS* 526 Philostratus writes: Λολλιανὸς προὔστη τοῦ Ἀθήνησι θρόνου πρῶτος; in *VS* 600 we read: ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος . . . τοῦ πολιτικοῦ θρόνου προεστώς.

¹² In n. 11 above the term ὁ Ἀθήνησι θρόνος can refer only to the municipal chair since at that time there was no other. However, the chair of Philiscus, an imperial appointee, is referred to by the same term (*VS* 621).

If anyone insists that his expression $\delta \tau\omega\nu \sigma\phi\iota\sigma\tau\omega\nu \theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ necessitates a second chair which is not called $\tau\omega\nu \sigma\phi\iota\sigma\tau\omega\nu$, he must explain why the expression $\delta \lambda\theta\eta\nu\eta\sigma\iota \theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ should not be taken as evidence that in A.D. 212, the date of Philiscus' appointment, or in the 180s-190s, the time of Pausanias' elevation at Athens, there was only one salaried chair rather than the attested two. Such vagueness does not, of course, completely exclude the possibility that whenever Philostratus does use the term $\tau\omega\nu \sigma\phi\iota\sigma\tau\omega\nu$ he indeed means the imperial chair as opposed to the municipal chair, to which he once refers as the $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma \theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (600).¹³ Therefore, there is a faint presumption in favor of the assumption that Hippodromus held the imperial chair. The chair of Pausanias, however, is not qualified by any explanatory term.

There is another approach to the evidence which suggests that both Hippodromus and Pausanias held the imperial chair. Lollianus and Apollonius, two definitely known incumbents of the municipal chair at Athens, were both Athenian citizens.¹⁴ So was Herodes Atticus, if he indeed held the chair. On the other hand, of the five holders of the imperial chair established to this point — Theodotus, Hadrian, Pollux, Heraclides, and Philiscus — only Theodotus was, to our knowledge, an Athenian.¹⁵ Chrestus of Byzantium, too, the sophist whom the Athenians in vain wanted to propose to the emperor as the successor to Hadrian on the imperial chair, was a non-Athenian (*VS* 591). Although the sample is small, I suspect that the Athenian chair, like the municipal offices, was open only to Athenian citizens, whereas

¹³ Brandstaetter (above, n. 6) 194ff thought that the terms $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma \theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\delta \tau\omega\nu \sigma\phi\iota\sigma\tau\omega\nu \theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in Philostratus referred to two chairs, each of which taught a different type of eloquence, the former professing $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\iota \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\iota$ (court speeches, etc.), the latter concentrating on epideictic types of oratory ($\sigma\phi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\iota \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\iota$). In view of the fact, admitted by Brandstaetter himself (p. 202), that no such distinction between $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\iota$ and $\sigma\phi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\iota \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\iota$ was recognized by writers on rhetoric contemporary with Philostratus (Hermogenes and Ps.-Aristides *Rhetoric*), it is unlikely that the Athenian chairs conformed in their subject matter to any such distinction. There is no other evidence for it. For other objections to Brandstaetter's notion see John W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece* (New York, 1909) 87-89.

¹⁴ Lollianus was hoplite general (*VS* 526); Apollonius was both the hoplite general and the eponymous archon (600).

¹⁵ During the period considered in this article, Athens, like many cities in the Roman Empire, still had its own legally recognized citizenship. In the second half of the third century A.D. the emperor Gallienus still thought it worth his while to become a citizen and an archon of Athens (*HA.*, Gallienus duo, 11.3). For the citizenships of the Greek cities under the Roman Empire see Dieter Nörr, *Imperium und Polis in der hohen Prinzipatszeit*² (Munich, 1969) 12ff and *passim*.

the imperial chair was open to all sophists. If it is assumed that the municipal chair required Athenian citizenship, then both Hippodromus and Pausanias must have held the imperial chair. This assumption would, of course, also prove that Hadrian, Pollux, Heraclides, and Philiscus could not have held the municipal chair. The notion that the heads of establishments with educational functions should possess a specific citizenship was not unknown in the second century. In A.D. 121 the emperor Hadrian removed the clause requiring that the head of the Epicurean school at Athens be a Roman citizen.¹⁶

To sum up the conclusions of this section, the municipal chair was held by Lollianus, Apollonius of Athens, and, possibly, Herodes Atticus. The holders of the imperial chair were Theodotus, Hadrian, Pollux, Pausanias, Heraclides, Hippodromus, and Philiscus.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHAIR HOLDERS

The evidence about the municipal chair is scanty. As mentioned before, the first incumbent was Lollianus (*VS* 526). His tenure may have commenced during the rule of Antoninus Pius (*HA.*, *Vita Pii*, 11.3). Of the other two incumbents Herodes Atticus, provided he really held the chair, preceded Apollonius of Athens. Apollonius held his chair during the rule of Septimius Severus (*VS* 600-601), whereas Herodes Atticus died around 177 (*PIR*² C 802). The author of the *Aristides Prolegomena* states that Herodes held his Athenian chair at the time when Aristides delivered his Panathenaic speech at Athens and when Marcus Aurelius visited this city (above, n. 8, 113-114 = 738-739D). In view of the many gross errors in this and the surrounding passages, no confidence at all can be placed in the date given in the *Prolegomena*.¹⁷ All one can say with certainty about the date of Herodes's tenure is that being engaged in tutoring Marcus Aurelius he would not have been able to hold the Athenian chair before the end of his consulship in 143. The date and length of Lollianus' tenure is not known. The length of the tenure of Apollonius cannot be determined. He appears to have been holding the chair — although the language of Philostratus is again vague — during his embassy to Severus in Rome mentioned by Philo-

¹⁶ The letters of Plotina and Hadrian may be found in *IG* 2-3² 1099, *ILS* 7784, and *SIG*³ 824. They are conveniently grouped together in E. Mary Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva Trajan and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1966) no. 442.

¹⁷ For an analysis of the *Prolegomena* see C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Amsterdam, 1968) 142-147.

stratus (601). The date of this embassy can be determined. According to Philostratus it closely preceded the trip of Severus to Africa. This trip took place probably in 202–203, a few months after the return of Severus to Rome.¹⁸ The embassy of Apollonius will consequently be most likely dated in A.D. 202. Severus was in Rome also in 193, 196, and 197, but the context of the embassy in Philostratus suits the year 202 best.¹⁹ To sum up, the holders of the municipal chair can be arranged as follows:

Lollianus: first part of the rule of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161)?

Herodes Atticus: sometime between A.D. 144 and 177?

Apollonius of Athens: known to be holding the chair in A.D. 202.

With respect to the imperial chair, it was shown above that Theodotus, the first incumbent, held it from about A.D. 174 to 176. The language of Philostratus suggests that he died in office. Hadrian, his successor, held the chair until his promotion to the chair of rhetoric at Rome (*VS* 591). Naechster put his promotion in A.D. 178, arguing from general probability that Hadrian must have been promoted by Marcus Aurelius before the latter left Rome in A.D. 178.²⁰ This year, although frequently accepted,²¹ cannot be right, because Hadrian is attested, as I shall now show, to have left his Athenian chair after the death of Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 180. Philostratus writes of the sophist Chrestus that when Hadrian left for the chair in Rome the Athenians voted *πρεσβεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ Χρήστου τὸν Ἀθήνησιν αὐτῷ θρόνον ἐκ βασιλείως αἰτοῦντες* . . . (*VS* 591). From 177 to 180 Rome had two *βασιλεῖς*, since in 177 Commodus was named Augustus and became coemperor.²² If the Athenian chair had fallen vacant during the coregency one would normally expect Philostratus to have the Athenians address their request to both emperors. It is unlikely that the Athenians had contemplated their embassy on behalf of Chrestus before the coregency because Hadrian was still at Athens during the funeral of Herodes Atticus, which fell in all probability in A.D. 177 (*VS* 586; *PIR*² C 802,

¹⁸ For the date of the trip see F. Grosso, *RAL* 23 (1968) 38–43, and A. Birley, *Septimius Severus* (London, 1971) 216.

¹⁹ Following K. Münscher, *Philologus*, supp. X, no. 4 (1907) 478, many scholars have placed the embassy of Apollonius in 196 or 197. Münscher gives no reason for his choice. There does not appear to be any evidence in favor of 196 or 197.

²⁰ Naechster (above, n. 9) 41.

²¹ E.g., *Der Kleine Pauly* 4.980; *Real-Encyclopädie* 10 (1919) 774.

²² J. M. Heer, *Der historische Wert der vita Commodi in der Sammlung der scriptores historiae Augustae*, *Philologus*, supp. IX (1904) 29–31.

p. 177). Therefore, the proposed embassy must be placed after the death of Marcus in March 180. A date in the 180s is also indicated by the dedicatory prefaces introducing each of the ten books of the *Onomasticon*. In these prefaces Pollux the successor of Hadrian on the Athenian chair addressed Commodus as *κύριος* for the first time in the third preface.²³ The term *κύριος* when applied to the members of the imperial family seems always to apply to the emperor.²⁴ However, it is only in the eighth preface that Pollux mentions his teaching duties. If we assume that these duties refer to his tenure in the Athenian chair then it follows that Pollux was appointed to it no earlier than 177, the year when Commodus, having become coemperor, could be addressed as *κύριος*. Since the content of the prefaces indicates that the books of the *Onomasticon* were written in chronological order and dedicated to Commodus individually, some time must have elapsed between the completion of Book 3 and Book 8. An interval of three years, the length of the joint rule of Marcus and Commodus, would be reasonable for the research and writing involved in the compiling of five volumes after 177, the earliest date for the preface to Book 3. It is, of course, possible that Book 3 was dedicated after 177, since it need not have been dedicated to Commodus precisely in the year in which Marcus made him coemperor.

A third indication that Pollux was appointed when Commodus had become sole emperor is the manner in which the appointment is described by Philostratus (*VS* 593). The decision is being made entirely by Commodus; no mention is made of Marcus Aurelius. Since the latter was the recent founder of the chair to be filled as well as the family specialist on sophists and philosophers, one would expect Marcus to have made the decision if he was still alive.

Pollux, then, ascended to the imperial chair at Athens in one of the earlier years of the sole rule of Commodus (A.D. 180–193). He appears to have been succeeded by the Cappadocian sophist Pausanias (*VS* 594); Pausanias later was promoted to the chair at Rome (*VS* 594). He could not have held the Athenian chair past the year 202 because, as will be shown, Heraclides was then the incumbent. Chronology

²³ *Pollucis Onomasticon*, ed. E. Bethe (Leipzig, 1900–37). Although we have no specific evidence to that effect, I am assuming that Pollux, rather than, e.g., Pausanias, was the direct successor of Hadrian in the Athenian chair. This assumption rests chiefly on the observation that the succession of the known chair holders in Philostratus is, to our knowledge, never out of chronological order.

²⁴ Hugh J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis*, American Studies in Papyrology, XIII (Toronto, 1974) 13, 64.

suggests that Pausanias may have been the direct successor of Hadrian to the chair at Rome. Hadrian died at the approximate age of 80 during the rule of Commodus, probably toward its end (*VS* 590).²⁵ If so, the combined tenures of Pollux and Pausanias of the Athenian chair roughly filled the rule of Commodus from 180 to 193. To this point, then, the incumbents can be arranged as follows:

Theodotus: c. 174 to 176

Hadrian: c. 176 to early 180s

Pollux: early 180s to before 193

Pausanias: after Pollux to c. 193

Of the three remaining incumbents Philiscus clearly comes last. With respect to the order of the other two, opinions have differed. Naechster, after a demonstration containing mistakes both of fact and logic, concluded that Heraclides preceded Hippodromus.²⁶ Hertzberg, followed by Münscher, put Hippodromus before Heraclides.²⁷ In his review of Naechster Münscher changed his previous opinion, now stating that it was not possible to determine the order of the two sophists.²⁸ However, it can be shown convincingly that Hippodromus must have held the chair after Heraclides. After losing in a contest of

²⁵ The year of his death is not attested. Since he had been a student of Herodes Atticus (*VS* 585), who was born around A.D. 101 (*PIR*² C 802), it is more likely that he died toward the end of Commodus' rule, since one would expect a student to be at least some years younger than his teacher. Grosso assumes that Hadrian died at the beginning of Commodus' reign (F. Grosso, *La lotta politica al tempo di Commodo* [Turin, 1964] 132-133). If this were true Hadrian and Herodes would have been of about the same age. Since Hadrian became a student of Herodes when about 18 (*VS* 585) Herodes would at that tender age already have attracted disciples from overseas. The narrative of Philostratus clearly suggests a noticeable difference in the ages of the two (*VS* 586). For a recent discussion of Hadrian's chronology see C. P. Jones, "Two Enemies of Lucian," *GRBS* 13 (1972) 480-485.

²⁶ Naechster (above, n. 9) 42. Naechster believed that he had proved the precedence of Heraclides on the strength of this reasoning: Heraclides, after losing his chair at Athens, taught at Smyrna. When Hippodromus, after retiring from his chair, visited Smyrna Heraclides was no longer alive. Therefore, Hippodromus held the Athenian chair after Heraclides. This reasoning does not, of course, constitute proof. After holding the chair, Hippodromus could have lived in mainland Greece during the years when Heraclides taught at Athens and later at Smyrna, not paying his visit to the latter city until after the death of Heraclides.

²⁷ G. F. Hertzberg, *Histoire de la Grèce sous la domination des romains*, III (Paris, 1890) 94, and *Real-Encyclopädie* 8 (1913) 1746.

²⁸ *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 170 (1915) 18.

oratory against Apollonius of Athens, Heraclides was deprived of his immunity by the emperor. The contest took place before the emperor's visit to Africa in A.D. 202–203 (*VS* 601 and above). It is clear that this contest could not have occurred before Heraclides obtained the chair at Athens. Disgracing oneself before the emperor would surely have ruined a sophist's chance for promotion to that position. The contest probably did not take place after Heraclides had lost his chair, since Heraclides then departed for Smyrna (*VS* 613). Consequently it must have taken place while Heraclides was the incumbent of the imperial chair. Hence the year 202 was one of his years of tenure. If Hippodromus preceded him, his four-year tenure (*VS* 618) could not have extended beyond 201 or 202. So early a date is impossible because Hippodromus is attested to have been the teacher of the Lemnian Philostratus (*VS* 617). He must have taught the Lemnian during his incumbency because Philostratus states that after relinquishing his chair at Athens he returned to Thessaly to manage his estates (618). The Lemnian Philostratus was born in A.D. 190–191.²⁹ If Hippodromus preceded Heraclides, Philostratus must have studied rhetoric with the former at the age of eleven or less. No student that young seems to be attested.³⁰ Therefore, Hippodromus held the chair later than Heraclides. This sequence is also suggested by order of the two lives in Philostratus: Heraclides precedes Hippodromus.

Concerning the period when Hippodromus held the chair, the narrative of Philostratus indicates the years 209–213. At the Olympic Games of 213 the Lemnian Philostratus is called the student of Hippodromus: *Φιλοστράτῳ γὰρ τῷ Λημνίῳ γνωρίμῳ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ* [of Hippodromus] *ὄντι* . . . (617). This is the evident and unforced meaning of the passage. The year 213 is compatible with the circumstances surrounding the appointment of Philiscus, a later holder of the Athenian chair. He was appointed to it in Rome through the patronage of Julia Domna in a year in which Caracalla was emperor (*VS* 622). It is agreed that Caracalla did not leave Rome for the Parthian War until the spring of 214.³¹ Consequently, there was enough time between the Olympic Games of 213 and the spring of 214 for Hippodromus to resign and for Philiscus to be appointed his successor. If, as was suggested, Pausanias relin-

²⁹ F. Solmsen, *Real-Encyclopädie* 20¹ (1941) 175.

³⁰ For ages of university students see Walden (above, n. 13) 292–293. A possible exception could be Hermogenes, who at 15 was a sufficiently celebrated speaker to have come to the notice of the emperor himself (*VS* 577–578).

³¹ A. Maricq, "La chronologie des dernières années de Caracalla," *Syria* 34 (1957) 302.

quished his Athenian chair in about A.D. 193 in order to succeed Hadrian in Rome, there is a gap of sixteen years between Pausanias and Hippodromus, who would have assumed office in A.D. 209. No other sophist except Heraclides is available from any source to fill this gap. Until the appearance of evidence to the contrary, we may assume that Heraclides held the imperial chair at Athens approximately from A.D. 193 to 209. From the narrative of Philostratus it appears that his losing his immunity in A.D. 202 in the oratorical contest before Septimius Severus did not cost him his job, because Philostratus imputes the loss of his chair to the machinations of a Marcianus of Doliche (*VS* 613). We know from the case of Philiscus that the emperor's displeasure did not automatically mean the loss of the imperial chair. Philiscus was deprived of his immunity by Caracalla nearly immediately after obtaining the chair. He nevertheless continued to hold it for seven years (*VS* 622-623), from A.D. 213 to 220. Since Philiscus is the last explicitly attested chair holder, a list of the known incumbents of the imperial Athenian chair can be drawn up:

Theodotus: c. 174 to 176

Hadrian: c. 176 to the first half of the 180s

Pollux: early 180s to before 193

Pausanias: from after Pollux to c. 193

Heraclides: c. 193 to 209

Hippodromus: 209 to 213

Philiscus: 213 to 220

It is, of course, possible that between Theodotus and Philiscus there were incumbents not mentioned by Philostratus. The tenure of Heraclides especially seems rather long. On the other hand, the list may very well be complete. If anything, there are more incumbents mentioned by Philostratus than one would expect for the given length of time. Seven sophists in forty-seven years results in an average tenure of somewhat less than seven years.

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO

CONSTANS AND GRATIAN IN ROME

T. D. BARNES

DURING the third century Roman emperors ceased to treat Rome as their normal place of residence and the city lost its old position as the imperial capital. Diocletian and his colleagues passed their reigns either traveling or in palaces which they maintained elsewhere, closer to the armed frontiers of the empire, in cities such as Nicomedia, Aquileia, or Trier.¹ The emperor thus escaped the constricting ambience of a city where he was expected to conduct himself more as a magistrate than as a monarch.² By the same token, the way was prepared for the establishment of a new imperial capital to rival the old. The foundation of Constantinople was a result, not the cause,³ of the declining importance of Rome. Constantine's city fulfilled, in the eastern provinces, a role which Nicomedia had already played in the reigns of Diocletian and Licinius.⁴

When the imperial court had departed, many of the former causes of conflict and hostility between emperor and the Senate of Rome disappeared, and the ruler's habitual absence lent his occasional presence an increased significance.⁵ The *adventus Augusti* was no longer a ceremony which heralded permanent residence, but one which presented a rare political opportunity for both parties. Hence any serious attempt to understand or interpret the fourth century cannot avoid inquiring when, why, and under what circumstances emperors visited Rome. However, investigation of the question has been hampered by too ready an acceptance of the statement of a panegyric:

¹ For these three cities, see respectively Lactantius *Mort. Pers.* 7.10; 10.6; 17.4ff; *Pan. Lat.* 7(6).6.2; E. M. Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (London 1970) 58ff.

² J. Straub, *Zum Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart 1939) 187ff.

³ As is often assumed, e.g., by R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*² (Paris 1964) 21.

⁴ For Nicomedia as Licinius' capital, note Sozomenus *HE* 4.16.6; *Suda* A 4450 (1.415 Adler).

⁵ On the ceremonial aspect of imperial visits, see now S. MacCormack, *Historia* 21 (1972) 721-752.

his annis qui lustra mihi bis dena recensent,
 nostra ter Augustos intra pomeria vidi,
 temporibus variis; eadem sed causa tropaei
 civilis dissensus erat. venere superbi,
 scilicet ut Latio respersos sanguine currus
 adspicerem.

So Claudian makes the goddess Roma declare, in a poem recited in January 404 (*VI Cons. Honorii* 392ff). One hundred years takes one back to 304: the poet may or may not have known that Diocletian visited Rome to celebrate his *vicennalia* in November 303, and that Maximian came in the following year.⁶ What three visits had Claudian in mind? If he refers only to visits immediately after a civil war, then they could be one each by Constantine (312), Constantius (357), and Theodosius (389). Therefore, Theodosius visited Rome once only.⁷ Alternatively, if it be supposed that Theodosius visited Rome twice, then Claudian has overlooked either his second visit (in 394) or that of Constantius a generation earlier. Moreover, so it is asserted, Claudian's words render it highly improbable that Gratian ever visited Rome.⁸ But Claudian states that there have been only three visits in all, each of them immediately after a civil war, and the modern exegetes have exhibited a forgetfulness similar to that of Claudian. Constantine also visited Rome to celebrate his *decennalia* (in 315) and *vicennalia* (in 326), and on both occasions the celebration of the imperial anniversary was partly combined with that of the defeat of a rival.⁹

Five imperial visits to Rome, four of them after civil wars, are thus indubitably attested in the relevant hundred years, even apart from the presence there of Maximian (306–308), Maxentius (306–312), and the usurper Nepotianus (350):¹⁰ Constantine three times (312, 315,

⁶ Lactantius *Mort. Pers.* 17.1ff; *Pan. Lat.* 7(6).8.6ff.

⁷ So W. Ensslin, "War Kaiser Theodosius I zweimal in Rom?" *Hermes* 81 (1953) 500–507. For the opinions of earlier scholars, see also A. Piganiol, *L'empire chrétien* (Paris 1947) 268; E. Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'empire romain* (Paris 1951) 111; E. Stein and J. R. Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-empire* I² (Paris/Bruges 1958) 534f.

⁸ A. Cameron, *HSCP* 73 (1968) 262f.

⁹ For Constantine's movements, see O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart 1919) 163f, 176f; T. D. Barnes, *JRS* 63 (1973) 29ff. On the achievements commemorated, note respectively *ILS* 694; Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius *Carm.* 4.7: "sed nunc te, victor, vicennia picta honorent!"

¹⁰ On whom, cf. *PLRE* 1.624.

and 326), Constantius (357), and Theodosius (389). It is hardly prudent, therefore, to invoke Claudian against a sixth, a seventh, or even an eighth visit. Various items of evidence either state or imply that Theodosius went to Rome after the defeat of Eugenius (6 September 394), and direct statements can be found that both Constans and Gratian visited the city. Of these three alleged visits, that of Theodosius has received ample discussion.¹¹ That of Constans appears to be generally ignored, while that of Gratian has been both accepted with confidence¹² and denied by means of peculiar argumentation.¹³

Some months after the death of Constantine, his three sons partitioned the Roman empire between them (autumn 337). Soon a dispute arose between the eldest and the youngest, the former exercising or claiming the position of guardian over the latter. To assert his pretensions, Constantine invaded Italy, but was ambushed and killed near Aquileia (early 340). Constantius was in Syria conducting and supervising warfare against the Persians in Mesopotamia. Consequently Constans seized the opportunity to annex Constantine's provinces to his portion.¹⁴ When he learned of his brother's death he was in Pannonia. He proceeded swiftly to Aquileia, where he is attested in April 340¹⁵ — and subsequently (it should be argued) to Rome. The occasion was opportune, and Constans' movements are totally unknown for a full year between 25 June 340, when he was at Milan, and 24 June 341, when he was at Lauriacum on the Danube.¹⁶

Two items of evidence can also be invoked. First, the *Passio Artemii*, deriving (so it is plausibly conjectured) from Philostorgius. Although the full text of his ecclesiastical history no longer survives, it was summarized by Photius, whose outline permits the identification of

¹¹ Most recently by A. Cameron, *HSCP* 73 (1968) 248–265.

¹² A. Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire* (Oxford 1952) 90; A. Demandt, *Zeitkritik und Geschichtsbild im Werk Ammians* (Bonn 1965) 68.

¹³ "There is no direct evidence for this visit, and in view of the difficulties involved in accommodating four imperial visits, it is hardly possible even to consider a fifth . . . Moreover it would be very strange if Ammian had failed to mention an event of such significance as Alföldi, for example, attributes to it" (A. Cameron, *HSCP* 73 (1968) 262–263 n. 28).

¹⁴ For these events, see O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* 4 (Berlin 1911) 40ff.

¹⁵ *CTh* 2.6.5, 10.15.3.

¹⁶ *CTh* 9.17.1, 8.2.1 = 12.1.31. Seeck emended the subscription of *CJ* 2.19.11 so that it showed Constans at Aquileia on 22 September 340 (*Regesten* 78, 189). A date before 337 seems more probable (*PLRE* 1.284f).

large and important fragments preserved elsewhere.¹⁷ The hagiographer reports that Constans was visiting Rome when his brother attacked.¹⁸ The chronology can hardly be defended, since Constans was at Naissus at least in January and early February.¹⁹ However, the fact of the visit may be correct: in the immediate context, the *Passio Artemii* offers a detailed description of the territorial divisions of autumn 337.²⁰

The second item is even more conjectural. The father of the orator Symmachus made a dedication, probably of a statue, to Constans:

Felicitatem publicam / clementia et virtute / cumulant, d.n. Fl. Iul. / Constanti pio felici / victori ac triumphatori Aug., / Aur. Avianius Symmachus v.c. / praef. annonae, d.n.m.q. eius.

(*NdS* 1886.362 = *ILS* 726)

The occasion could have been an imperial visit. It was conjectured long ago that Constans visited Rome in 349.²¹ A visit nine years earlier is an even easier hypothesis. The Prefect of the City led an embassy to Constans: he was absent from Rome for six weeks and resumed office on his return.²² He may have proceeded back to Rome accompanied by the emperor.

A visit to Rome by Gratian is explicitly attested, in a heterogeneous compilation, apparently put together in Constantinople in the eighth century,²³ which goes under the name of *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικάί* or, in Latin garb, *Breves enarrationes chronicae*.²⁴ According to this source, Gratian went to Rome after his marriage.²⁵ Now Gratian married Constantia c. 374, and the narrative of Ammianus precludes a visit before Gratian's father died (17 November 375) or in the critical

¹⁷ See J. Bidez and F. Winkelmann, *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte*² (*GCS*: Berlin 1972).

¹⁸ *Passio Artemii* 9 = Philostorgius *HE* 3.1^a (p. 30.11 Bidez): ἐκείνου πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποδημήσαντος.

¹⁹ *CTh* 12.1.29 (19 January), 10.10.5 (2 February).

²⁰ *Passio Artemii* 8 (pp. 29–30 Bidez). For modern discussion of this partition, see Stein and Palanque (above, n. 7) 484f.

²¹ T. Mommsen, *Codex Theodosianus* 1.1 (Berlin 1904) ccxxix, apparently arguing from *CTh* 11.7.6.

²² *Mon. Grm. Hist.*, Auct. Ant. 9.68.

²³ In the reign of Constantine V (741–775); cf. C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen 1959) 10.

²⁴ Edited by I. Bekker, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* 15 (Bonn 1843) 166–193 (in part); T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* 1 (Leipzig 1901) 19–73. References will be given to both Preger's chapter divisions and the Bonn pagination.

²⁵ *Brev. Enarr. Chron.* 50 (p. 178): Γρατιανὸς μετὰ τὸ γῆμαι ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρεγένετο.

year of Adrianople (378).²⁶ If it occurred, the visit will belong to 376 or 377, a date also to be deduced from a speech of Themistius.

Themistius' thirteenth speech (in the traditional numeration) is a product not suited to the tastes or inclinations of most modern readers. The orator praises Gratian as befitted a philosopher, in a Platonic fashion: he alludes frequently to the *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*, and addresses the emperor as a "boy surpassing old age in virtue" and a "beautiful boy."²⁷ Themistius clearly delivered the speech in Rome,²⁸ whose inhabitants he salutes as leaders of the human race, and to the Senate.²⁹ It has sometimes also been believed that he delivered it in the presence of the emperor, with whom he had traveled to Rome.³⁰ But the whole tenor of the oration presupposes Gratian's absence rather than his presence. Although the invocations of Gratian in the second person might seem to imply his presence, Themistius more often uses the third person.³¹ One mode of referring to the emperor, therefore, is an artifice, and it must be the former. Moreover, at the end of the speech Themistius looks forward to Gratian's triumphal entry into Rome and summons both Valens and Gratian to leave their tents and ditches in order to visit the imperial city.³² Neither emperor can yet have arrived.

The speech thus provides circumstantial evidence for an imperial visit to Rome. It demonstrates that Gratian projected a visit when Themistius spoke, and nothing forbids the hypothesis that he did in fact journey to Rome shortly afterward. The peroration may disclose the precise date.³³ Although Themistius has already spoken confidently of the throng which will greet Gratian, he concludes with a prayer to Zeus, Athene, and Quirinus to grant mutual love between the emperor

²⁶ Ammianus 29.6.7, cf. 21.5.6 (Constantia born in the winter of 361/2). Mommsen adduced Ammianus 30.10.1, which refers to November/December 375, to prove that Gratian remained in Trier during 376 (*Codex Theod.* 1.1. ccliii). He is followed by A. Cameron, *HSCP* 73 (1968) 263.

²⁷ *Orat.* 13, esp. 165d, 171a.

²⁸ *Orat.* 13.177d: 'Ρώμη... ἥς ἡκω θεατής.

²⁹ *Orat.* 13.178b; 34.29.

³⁰ E.g., O. Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius* (Texte und Untersuchungen: 30, nos. 1, 2 [1906] 303), whence *PLRE* 1.891. For disproof, see H. Scholze, *De temporibus librorum Themistii* (Diss. Göttingen 1911) 45ff.

³¹ *Orat.* 13.169b, etc.

³² *Orat.* 13.179b; 179d.

³³ The editors of *PLRE* have contrived to follow Seeck for the date of Themistius' journey to Rome (1.891: "probably in the summer of 376"), Scholze for the date of the speech (893: "377 May/June — but 376 is possible")

and Rome.³⁴ That could be significant. Gratian's reign began with a political crisis, in which first the elder Theodosius, then his enemy Maximinus, were executed on imperial orders.³⁵ A visit to Rome in the summer of 376 may have been a political necessity, and may have answered Themistius' prayers.

For convenience of reference, a table of validly attested and historically probable imperial visits to Rome (312–395) may be given. For the five certain cases only the earliest or most important evidence is listed, for the others only explicit statements of the emperor's presence.

Constantine: three visits are attested in the Calendar of Philocalus, which notes *advent(us) divi* on 18 and 21 July and 29 October (*CIL* 1², pp. 268, 274 = *Inscr. It.* 13.2, pp. 250/251; 256/257).

in 312: Lactantius *Mort. Pers.* 44.iff.

in 315: *Frag. Vat.* 33, 274; *CTh* 11.30.3.

in 326: Jerome, *Chronicle* a. 326 (*GCS* 47.231); *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Auct. Ant.* 9.232.

Constans: in 340: *Passio Artemii* 8 = Philostorgius *HE* 3.1a (p. 30 Bidez).

Constantius: in 357: Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10.5ff.

Gratian: in 376 or 377: *Breves enarrationes chronicae* 50 (p. 178 Bonn).

Theodosius: two visits are implied by Theodoret *HE* 5.23.8.³⁶

in 389: *Pan. Lat.* 2(12).47.3ff; calendars and laws.³⁷

in 394: Prudentius *Contra Symmachum* 1.405ff; Zosimus 4.59.iff; 5.38.2; Theodore Lector *Epit.* 277 (p. 85 Hansen).³⁸

Lack of explicit attestation on the imperial coinage should be immediately obvious: the mint of Rome seems never to employ the legend *Adventus Augusti* throughout the period.³⁹ Less patent, but more serious, are the corollaries for the evaluation of other types or classes of evidence, if the alleged visits of Constans and Gratian are historical.

The secular history of much of the reigns of Constantine and his successors is badly documented in the extant evidence. For the reigns of Diocletian (in part) and of his immediate successors, Lactantius'

³⁴ *Orat.* 13.180a/b.

³⁵ On this obscure period, see A. Demandt, "Der Tod des älteren Theodosius," *Historia* 18 (1969) 598–626.

³⁶ Identified as the source of Theodore Lector by G. C. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte* (*GCS*: Berlin 1971) 85. On the variants in the text of Theodoret, see A. Cameron, *HSCP* 73 (1968) 253ff.

³⁷ Seeck, *Regesten* 275, 277.

³⁸ The source of Theophanes a. 5886 (pp. 73f de Boor).

³⁹ e.g., the legends in 388–393 (*RIC* 9.132ff).

De mortibus persecutorum provides a full and vivid narrative, but only as far as the death of Maximinus Daia (summer 313). Later in the century, Ammianus Marcellinus' history both illuminates the workings of the Roman Empire and offers a detailed account of the political and military activities of the emperors from 353 (where the text now begins) to the proclamation as Augustus of the younger Valentinian (22 November 375), with a final book devoted to the Goths in Moesia (down to 378). Later still, the poems of Claudian permit a reconstruction of the complicated events following the death of Theodosius (17 January 395).⁴⁰ For the intervening periods, the narrative sources are far less satisfactory: the extant ecclesiastical historians have little interest in political history for its own sake, the epitomators often traverse several years in a single sentence, and the account of Zosimus suffers equally from his own incompetence and the bias and incompetence of his source.⁴¹ Yet there once existed fuller accounts of these periods. Although the early books of Ammianus Marcellinus were probably soon lost, some Greek histories of the fourth century survived long enough to be read and summarized by Photius in the ninth century or excerpted by order of Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth.⁴² As a double consequence, many important events have left no trace in the extant narrative sources, and late Byzantine writers sometimes preserve isolated facts or genuine names from the fourth century.

A single example in each category will illustrate. Allusions by Themistius and Libanius appear to constitute the sole surviving evidence for a conspiracy against the life of Theodosius.⁴³ The emperor Jovian had a wife whom Ammianus Marcellinus mentions.⁴⁴ No source earlier than the ninth century seems to state her name, but there is no reason to doubt that she really was called Charito.⁴⁵ The metaphrastic life of St. Nicolaus of Myra contains an account of a rebellion of Taifali

⁴⁰ Brilliantly exploited by A. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford 1970).

⁴¹ Viz., Eunapius, who seems to have made grave errors even when recounting contemporary events, cf. Cameron, *Claudian* 474ff.

⁴² Observe the cases of Eunapius (*FHG* 4.7ff) and Philostorgius (above, n. 17) and the obvious use of well-informed sources in Petrus Patricius fr. 13-18 (*FHG* 4.188-191) and by John of Antioch (*FHG* 4.601ff).

⁴³ Themistius *Orat.* 19, esp. 230b/c; Libanius *Orat.* 1.241f.

⁴⁴ Ammianus 25.8.9, 10.11.

⁴⁵ According to *PLRE*, "her name is given by Zonaras only" (1.201). In fact, the earliest source to name Charito appears to be Nicephorus the Patriarch, *Chron. comp.* p. 104 de Boor, who was translated into Latin c. 870 by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia* 2 (Leipzig 1885) 47).

settled in Phrygia in the reign of Constantine:⁴⁶ the fact is often accepted as authentic.⁴⁷

The *Breves enarrationes chronicae* thus require a detailed evaluation before all the genuine history can be confidently disengaged from the many patent fictions. For the fifth century the compiler or compilers clearly derive much material from the lost ecclesiastical history of Johannes Diakrinomenos.⁴⁸ Of the fourth century also they occasionally display abstruse and accurate knowledge. It can be deduced from the subscription to a letter which Athanasius quotes that when Constantine died in May 337 his eldest son was in Gaul.⁴⁹ The compilers were aware of this fact,⁵⁰ which is crucial to an understanding of the political events attendant on the death of Constantine, but not always given due prominence in modern accounts.

The same source may also preserve the names of otherwise unattested persons who lived in Constantinople in the fourth century. The rhetor Cyprus (it is affirmed) erected a statue of Helena, the mother of Constantine, in the church of Hagia Sophia; in the same building stood a statue of the quaestor Galenus, and in the Smyrnaeum one of the *praepositus* Hilarion.⁵¹ A recent prosopographical manual enters Cyprus, Galenus, and Hilarion as if the trio are genuine persons attested by a trustworthy source,⁵² yet passes over other names in silence. The statue of Galenus belonged to a group containing one of the consular Serapion. He is omitted. So, with greater justification, are the Callistratus alleged to be the first consul honored in the forum of Constantinople, and the Demophilus alleged as a pagan general under Julian. Similarly absent are the philosopher Canonaris and the general Maximinus, also presented as historical characters from the time of Constantine.⁵³

The selection has clearly been arbitrary, perhaps even random.⁵⁴ Better criteria are available. If the *Breves enarrationes chronicae* have some authentic information about the fourth century which is not

⁴⁶ PG 116.337ff.

⁴⁷ C. Patsch, *Sb. Wien* 208.2 (1928) 30; W. Fluss, *RE* 4A (1932) 2028; E. A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* (Oxford 1966) 11.

⁴⁸ Named at *Brev. Enarr. Chron.* 48, 67, 71 (pp. 177f, 187, 188).

⁴⁹ Athanasius *Apol.* 2.87.4ff; cf. E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften* 3 (Berlin 1959) 270.

⁵⁰ *Brev. Enarr. Chron.* 70 (p. 188); cf. M. Treu, *Excerpta anonymi byzantini* (Ohlau 1880) 19, quoted by Preger (above, n. 24) 66.

⁵¹ *Brev. Enarr. Chron.* 11, 7 (pp. 65, 63).

⁵² *PLRE* 1.237, 382, 434.

⁵³ *Brev. Enarr. Chron.* 11, 59, 49, 54f (pp. 65, 182, 178, 179f).

⁵⁴ In partial illustration of the equally unsatisfactory treatment of other sources in *PLRE*, see *Phoenix* 26 (1972) 140-182; 27 (1973) 135-155.

directly transmitted elsewhere, then every name must be taken into account and assessed on its own merits, as must every statement about an emperor's movements, whether it relates to the younger Constantine or to Gratian's visit to Rome.⁵⁵

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⁵⁵ A. Cameron has recently declared that "the *Parastaseis* are so stuffed with such staggering absurdities and confusions (especially where Constantine is concerned) that it is seldom worth even attempting to explain them, much less sift out the few grains of historical fact behind them" (*Porphyrius the Charioteer* [Oxford 1973] 110).

ON THE HISTORY OF LATIN SCHOLIA

J. E. G. ZETZEL

I

TWO opposing theories have been offered in the past about the transmission of ancient commentaries, both primarily concerned with the scholia to Aristophanes.¹ One, that of White, suggested that the scholia of Byzantine manuscripts were descended from variorum commentaries compiled in the margins of the codices of late antiquity.² The other, that of Zuntz, sought to show that it was only in the ninth century or later that the extant compilations of scholia took shape, created at that time from still-extant ancient hypomnemata and from various marginalia found in surviving ancient manuscripts. Zuntz's argument was twofold. In the first place, he believed, the physical shape of ancient script and books did not allow room for compilations of the size of the medieval commentaries, and the fact that several papyri with wide margins that were not used for scholia survive supports this. In the second place, Zuntz believed that the form of the extant scholia, both in its relationship to that of biblical *catenae* and in its use of ἄλλως to connect different interpretations, showed that the present compilations were not the product of late antiquity.³

Zuntz's arguments were strong, and were generally accepted. A few years ago, however, N. G. Wilson reopened the question and showed that, while Zuntz's theory of the transmission of scholia was by no means impossible, his evidence was not as compelling as had been thought previously. Wilson concluded that the solution would differ

¹ I am grateful to Professors V. Brown, W. V. Clausen, G. P. Goold, H. C. Gotoff, C. P. Jones, M. R. Lefkowitz, C. E. Murgia, and O. Skutsch, all of whom have read and criticized various drafts of this article in the past few years. I have also discussed the subject on several occasions with N. G. Wilson, to whose article on scholia (below, n. 4) my debt is obvious. I am particularly grateful to Professor Murgia for allowing me to quote from his letter to me (below, nn. 7, 32).

² J. W. White, *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes* (Boston 1914) liii-lxxiv, esp. lxii-lxv.

³ G. Zuntz, *Byzantion* 13 (1938) 631-690 and 14 (1939) 545-614.

from one commentary to the next, and that while some were undoubtedly composed in the Byzantine period, others could just as easily have been products of the schools of late antiquity.⁴

The purpose of this paper is to follow up a suggestion that Wilson did not attempt to exploit fully in his article: that is, to examine the history of Latin scholia and to use them to clarify their Greek counterparts. Wilson used the comparative method only with respect to the occurrence of the word *aliter* in Latin scholia before the ninth century.⁵ What he said is useful, but there are also other, wider correspondences.⁶ These are of particular importance because of the relative abundance of the Latin evidence. The historian of Greek scholia is badly limited because of the dearth of pre-Byzantine material; the scholia of a few important papyri provide the only direct evidence for their early form. Moreover, the history of Greek scholarship is far longer, and the possible alterations of commentaries from Alexandrian times even to late antiquity are extremely complex. With Latin scholia, on the other hand, we suffer from almost an embarrassment of riches. Actual antique commentaries survive: some, it is true, exist only in copies made in Carolingian or later times, but others are in their original, or at least an early, form. Thus we have Servius and the Verona scholia on Virgil; Ps.-Asconius, Macrobius, and the Bobbio scholia on Cicero; Donatus and the Bembine scholia on Terence; the Bobbio fragment of scholia on Juvenal. Not all of these provide relevant evidence for the transmission of scholia, but the presence of material written in the crucial period from the fourth to the sixth century, together with later forms of some of the same commentaries, affords valuable insights into the creation of our medieval scholia. We will deal here with the ancient commentaries on Terence, but others, particularly the Verona scholia, would well repay close scrutiny.

⁴ N. G. Wilson, *CQ* 17 (1967) 244-256.

⁵ Wilson (above, n. 4) 249f.

⁶ Wilson's examples of *aliter* in scholia are drawn from Philargyrius, the Vaticanus of DS, and Donatus, all sources that have undergone considerable medieval alteration. A clearer late antique example is to be found in the Bembine scholia on *Eun.* 257, where hand 2 uses *aliter* to add to a note of hand 1. Note also the extensive use of *aliter* to introduce alternate recipes in Apicius, and the use of *alias* instead of *aliter* by Vinidarius, *Exc.* 1, clearly mistranslating ἄλλως. Ἄλλως is also used in the fourth- and fifth-century Greek magical papyri to introduce alternate incantations and also to introduce variant readings; cf. A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (Oxford 1972) I 177-179.

II

The study of Latin scholia is free from some of the problems that confront the historian of Greek scholarship. It is quite certain, in the case of Latin exegesis, that variorum commentaries existed as separate works of second-order literature in late antiquity. Firm evidence for this is available not only in the existence of Servius' commentary on Virgil,⁷ but also in another document of great importance for these studies, Donatus' prefatory epistle to his lost commentary on Virgil, the commentary on which Servius himself drew.⁸ Donatus' letter to Munatius begins as follows:

inspectis fere omnibus ante me qui in Virgillii opere calluerunt, breuitati admodum studens quam te amare cognoueram, de multis pauca excerptsi . . .

He continued:

cum enim liceret usquequaque nostra interponere, maluimus optima fide, quorum res fuerant, eorum etiam uerba seruare.

All of this shows quite clearly that Donatus composed his commentary by collecting interpretations from the available earlier authorities, most notably Asper, Probus, Hyginus, and Cornutus, and connected them with occasional observations of his own.

Donatus was not the first Virgilian critic to take earlier scholarship into account; Asper probably knew the work of the critics who came before him, and so did some others.⁹ The pattern of the development

⁷ It would appear from Savage's descriptions of the manuscripts of DS (*HSCP* 43 [1932] 77-121) and of Servius (*HSCP* 45 [1934] 157-204) that most of the manuscripts of Servius and a smaller proportion of those of DS, are separate from the text of Virgil. I have consulted Professor Murgia, whose book on the manuscripts of Servius will be available shortly, on this question, and he has written as follows (letter of February 19, 1974): "It can be stated that of the three traditions of Servius, *DS*, Δ , and Γ , all three reached the ninth century as separate texts, not connected with a tradition of Virgil . . . However, there is evidence for both *DS* and Σ (source of $\Delta\Gamma$) that earlier texts from which they descend must have been written as marginal comments to a text of Virgil . . . It is clear that the scholia passed freely from one state to the other: independent to marginal, back to independent, back to marginal." As will be seen below, my conclusions about the scholia to Terence are in accord with Murgia's about the Servian corpus.

⁸ What survives in fact are the dedicatory epistle to Munatius, the *uita* and the preface to the *Eclogues*; cf. G. P. Goold, *HSCP* 74 (1970) 117-121.

⁹ On Asper, cf. P. Wessner, *Aemilius Asper* (Halle 1905), and A. Tomsin, *Etude sur le commentaire virgilien d'Aemilius Asper* (Paris 1952). Note esp. F xlix Wessner. Probus probably knew the work of Cornutus; cf. F 6 Aistermann.

of Virgilian exegesis is, in general, clear. Each successive critic built on his predecessors' work, until Donatus in the mid-fourth century compiled a commentary which was largely composed of excerpts from his predecessors. The commentary of Servius, built on that of Donatus, took a step backward in this respect, and tended to resynthesize the material gathered by Donatus, eliminating the varying interpretations and names of earlier scholars. On the other hand, he appears to have used material from at least one other source that had not been employed by Donatus.¹⁰

As is well known, the late fourth century was one of the periods of revival and consolidation that helped to ensure the survival of such Latin texts as still exist. One need only refer to the subscriptions, particularly to the most famous one to Livy, as evidence for that.¹¹ Interest in Silver Latin literature revived at this period, particularly in the poetry of Lucan, Statius, and Juvenal.¹² What is most important for our purposes, however, is the fact that many of the bodies of scholia on Latin literature appear to have taken shape in the same period. Servius and Donatus on Virgil and Terence are not the only examples; the *terminus post quem* for our extant scholia on Juvenal is 353;¹³ Ps.-Asconius on the Verrines appears to have made heavy use of Servius;¹⁴ the works of Macrobius and Marius Victorinus also fall into this period. None of this needs extensive documentation or discussion. We will therefore assume that this period represents one of the important watersheds in the history of the transmission of Latin scholia. The commentaries of the late fourth and fifth centuries, which were variorum works compiled from earlier material or in some cases composed at that time, formed (with the later work of Isidore) the basis of virtually all of the ancient knowledge now found in medieval marginalia.

The issue that concerns us here is not the existence of such commentaries, but the way in which their form altered over the centuries. Both Donatus' and Servius' commentaries on Virgil were clearly independent books, and could only with difficulty be written into the widest

¹⁰ On all of these Servian questions cf. Goold (above, no. 8) esp. 130-140, with references.

¹¹ Cf. H. Bloch, *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford 1963), 215f and references there.

¹² See in particular P. Wessner, *BPhW* 49 (1929) 296-303, 328-335.

¹³ Originally pointed out by Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* VII (Berlin 1909) 509-511. Cf. also P. Wessner, *Scholia in Iuvenalem Vetustiora* (Leipzig 1931) xxxvif, and A. Cameron, *Hermes* 92 (1964) 367-372.

¹⁴ Cf. J. A. Gessner, *Servius und Pseudo-Asconius* (Zurich 1888).

margins.¹⁵ Other commentaries as well, we may assume, were in the same form; the commentary of Ps-Asconius is, and so are the sixth-century Bobbio scholia on Cicero. So also the ancestor of the extant Juvenal scholia appears to have been.¹⁶ The commentaries now found in the margins of ancient manuscripts, moreover, are almost certainly abridgments of larger works. This is probably true of the Verona scholia on Virgil and, as we shall see here, of the Bembine scholia on Terence. The problem that must be solved here is to explain the history of these commentaries. Of Latin commentaries now extant dealing with a literary text, Servius is the only one which is complete: all of the others have been through various processes of expansion and contraction, of separate transmission and marginal excerpts. The history of some of the ancient scholia on Terence provides the clearest illustration both of the complexity of the problems and of their probable solution.

III

There are several sources for our knowledge of ancient exegesis on Terence, but two are of particular importance: the commentary of Donatus and the scholia of the Bembine Terence.¹⁷ These scholia, and the relationship between them, afford considerable enlightenment about the history of ancient scholarship in the early Middle Ages. The commentary that goes under the name of Donatus is not the original work composed by that scholar; it was abridged and recompiled at some

¹⁵ See above, n. 7. It is worth noting that in certain medieval manuscripts in which text and commentary occupy the same page — as in such Servian manuscripts as Par. Lat. 7930 or Par. Lat. 16236, or in Leiden B.P.L. 78 of the *Commentum Cornuti* on Persius — it is so arranged that the text occupies one column, and the commentary another (in Par. Lat. 7930, two others), and often a space above or below. On the other hand, although ancient Latin manuscripts show a preference for two-column pages, all of the surviving poetic texts in those manuscripts are written in single columns; cf. E. A. Lowe, *CQ* 19 (1925) 197–208 = *Palaeographical Papers* (Oxford 1972) I 187–202. This leaves no room for the addition of a unified commentary, but only for single notes, as in the Bembinus or the Verona Virgil.

¹⁶ Cf. Wessner (above, n. 13) xxxvi–xlII.

¹⁷ The commentary of Donatus is cited from the edition of P. Wessner, *Aeli Donati quod fertur Commentum Terenti* I (Leipzig 1902) and II (Leipzig 1905) (henceforth cited as Wessner); the Bembine scholia are cited from the edition of J. Mountford, *The Scholia Bembina* (London 1934) (henceforth cited as Mountford). Where relevant I have also consulted the complete photographic reproduction of the Codex Bembinus given by S. Prete, *Il Codice di Terenzio Vaticano Latino 3226* (Vatican 1970).

point before our earliest manuscripts were written, and the miserable remains, repetitive, dull, and incoherent in places, that now pass under his name, are but a sad reminder of what the commentary must once have been.

What happened to Donatus' commentary on Terence between its composition in the fourth century and the earliest manuscript, of the eleventh? According to Sabbadini's and Wessner's reconstruction, which is largely still acceptable, the commentary was excerpted, presumably into the margins of manuscripts of Terence; our present version is a recompilation from two manuscripts containing such excerpts. The compilation, however, was incomplete. No commentary on the *Heautontimoroumenos* is preserved, and the remains of the commentary on the *Phormio* are in poor shape: for a part of that play the compiler left his two series of notes uncombined, and after that he probably drew on only one of his two sources. The truth of the double tradition postulated by Wessner is shown by the large number of inane doublets found in the extant commentary, which must be the result of combining two sets of excerpts from the same original.¹⁸

The only major error in Wessner's reconstruction of the history of these scholia was the chronology. Wessner believed that the recompilation of Donatus took place in the sixth century, for two reasons: he believed both that Priscian knew our Donatus, and that the Bembin scholiast did also. That the second of these two arguments is false was shown in 1912 by Löfstedt, who in turn believed that the Bembin scholia drew on the original commentary of Donatus.¹⁹ Following him, Mountford concluded that the Bembin scholia "afford an indication that our Donatus is not grotesquely different from the original."²⁰ We shall return to this question shortly, but first we must dispose of the suggestion that Priscian knew our Donatus.

The grammarian Priscian, writing at Constantinople in the first part of the sixth century, twice refers to the same passage of Donatus. Wessner deduced from these citations that Priscian's text of Donatus

¹⁸ R. Sabbadini, *SIFC* 2 (1894) 4-15, supplemented and corrected by Wessner I xlvff. The complicated theories of Karsten, set out in a series of articles in *Mnemosyne* vols. 32-35 and partially repeated in *De Commentis Donatiani . . . Compositione* (Leiden 1907), are not acceptable, as they start from the assumption that whatever is good is by Donatus, and whatever is bad, later. In fact, it is clear that Donatus' was a variorum commentary with very little homogeneity of either style or substance.

¹⁹ E. Löfstedt, *Eranos* 12 (1912) 43-63 (henceforth cited as Löfstedt).

²⁰ Mountford 122.

was the same as ours; in fact, as may clearly be seen, the passage shows nothing of the kind.²¹ At *Andria* 536 (3.3.4) our Donatus notes:

AVSCVLTA PAVCIS et "paucis" et "pauca" legitur.

Priscian refers to this passage first at III 281.12K:

... "Ausculata pauca: et quid ego te uelim et tu quod quaeris scies" — nec enim aliter stat iambus, qui est quaternarius, quod etiam Donati commentum approbat.

Again, at III 320.10K, Priscian quotes the same verse of Terence and comments:

sic enim habent antiqui codices teste Donato commentatore eius.

Priscian can be assumed to have reworded whatever he found in his copy of Donatus; references to *codices* in Priscian occur in contexts where our scholia use a simple *legitur*.²² But one feature of Priscian's Donatus is clear: it did express a preference for the reading *pauca* over the reading *paucis*. There is no other reasonable way to interpret the first passage quoted. It is clear then that our Donatus is not the same as Priscian's. The latter's text may have been a copy of the original Donatus, or simply a different abridgment.²³

The most important evidence for the textual history of Donatus, then, is to be found in comparison with the scholia of the Bembine Terence, which are themselves a problem of considerable complexity. The Bembine Terence was written in rustic capitals in the fourth or fifth century; it is no longer complete, as it is missing the beginning and another section.²⁴ What is more important for us, however, is the later history of the manuscript. It was corrected by several hands, of whom one is approximately contemporary with the original text; another, somewhat later, signed his name, Iouiales. Kauer, who identified the work of this man, was too zealous in attributing almost all of the marks of punctuation in the manuscript to Iouiales; Prete has more recently attempted

²¹ Wessner I xlv; cf. also W. M. Lindsay, *CQ* 20 (1926) 104.

²² Thus Priscian II 72.11, 256.20, 345.1, 394.13, 527.24, 535.20, 540.20, 592.22; III 162.15, 408.18K.

²³ Priscian seems to have known a fuller Donatus at other passages where our Donatus records a variant reading. Thus at II 392.24K (on *An.* 653) and III 187.18K (on *An.* 745) he comments on usage in a manner like that of Donatus.

²⁴ It is missing *Andria* 1-786, has scraps only of 787-887, and of *Adelphoe* 914-997. For description cf. Lowe, *CLA* I no. 12 and Prete (above, n. 17) 19-24.

to correct this impression.²⁵ Finally, there are scholia in the manuscript attributable to two hands, dated by Mountford to the first half of the sixth century and to no earlier than the second half of the sixth century.²⁶ The first hand wrote about half of the notes on the surviving portion of the *Andria* and on the *Eunuchus*, as well as a few on the *Heautontimoroumenos*. The second hand wrote the remainder of the scholia on the *Andria* and *Eunuchus*, most of those on the *Heautontimoroumenos*, and all of those on the *Phormio* and *Adelphi*. Neither hand wrote any scholia on the *Hecyra*.

The notes in the Bembine Terence do not constitute a formal commentary in any sense. One play has no notes at all, and the concentration of notes in the individual plays is quite erratic; moreover, aside from the fact that the scholia were written by two hands at least half a century apart, it has often been observed that one section, comprising the notes on *Phormio* 1-59, is clearly drawn from some version of Donatus' commentary, while the rest of the notes only bear occasional resemblances to that source.²⁷ The notes on the opening of the *Phormio* will be our major concern here; first, however, the problem of the sources and unity of the Bembine scholia will have to be examined more closely.

IV

Despite the clear appearance of nonunity and nonuniformity in the Bembine scholia, their editor, Mountford, has insisted that they derive from a single source: his most important argument appears to be the simple fact that they are found in the same manuscript.²⁸ It will be necessary here to refute his claim. In fact, arguments in one direction or the other concerning the source or sources of the scholia are rather scarce. It is quite clear that in a number of cases hand 2 added to the interpretation of hand 1, often by tacking on an extra note with

²⁵ R. Kauer, *WStud.* 20 (1898) 252-276, 22 (1903) 56-114; S. Prete, *Il Codice Bemmino* (Vatican 1950) 22-75. Cf. also H. Marti, *Lustrum* 6 (1961) 125f. It should be recognized that this problem is virtually insoluble, as marks of punctuation cannot be dated accurately.

²⁶ Mountford 2-8 gives a full description.

²⁷ Cf. F. Umpfenbach, *Hermes* 2 (1867) 340f; Wessner (above, n. 9) 41; Mountford 119.

²⁸ Mountford (117f) also believed that the posulated source manuscript was also the copy from which Ioviales punctuated the Bembinus; that is most unlikely, and will not be considered here.

uel.²⁹ There are also, occasionally, partial repetitions of notes in hand 1 by hand 2, and even one or two actual contradictions.³⁰ If it is believed, as Mountford appears to, that commentators could only transfer notes from one manuscript to another without making the slightest alteration, then the addition of a note with *uel* would prove conclusively that the source was the same; but, conversely, unless we can assume that the scholiasts had some ability to adapt and alter notes, then the repetitions and conflicts would prove conclusively that there could not have been a single source. And since it is clear that any putative single source would have been a variorum commentary, the problem is even more amorphous.

One or two observations on the origins of the Bembine scholia may be made. In the first place, a large percentage of these notes are simply glosses or brief, explanatory phrases. A considerable number of these have no parallel at all in the other traditions of Terentian scholarship, or even in the wider tradition of the Latin glossaries. Some few notes find parallels in that tradition, some also in the later Terentian glossaries; some are in the so-called *commentarius antiquior* of the Carolingian period printed by Schlee.³¹ A few, likewise, find some parallel in the remains of the ancient commentaries of Donatus and Eugraphius. That is true of the scholia in hand 2 as well as those of hand 1. Unless we wish to assume that both hands were drawing on a single, massive commentary from which all of these other sources drew, some huge *ur*-Donatus, it seems futile to assume either that hand 1 and hand 2 drew in a single source or that either hand itself drew on only one source. It is far more likely that the writers of these notes — presumably the owners of the manuscript at various times in the sixth century —

²⁹ Wessner (above, n. 9) 40 and Mountford 117 n. 3 between them list additions of hand 2 to a note of hand 1 at *Eun.* 16, 47, 126, 400, 517, 678, 845, and *Heaut.* 19, 72. Of these, *Eun.* 47 and 845 are simply wrong, 126 and 400 are alternate interpretations tacked together by *uel*. Only *Eun.* 16 and 517 are notes in which the second hand seems to have had the same notes, or a fuller version of it, before him; the others are merely alternate interpretations that do not conflict.

³⁰ Even at *Heaut.* 72, one of the examples of a supplement, hand 2 repeats a phrase used in the note of hand 1. Likewise *Eun.* 50, 84, 312, 397. There are direct contradictions at *Eun.* 7 and 169; cf. Mountford 117 n. 1f.

³¹ F. Schlee, *Scholia Terentiana* (Leipzig 1893) 44f, believed that he found numerous similarities; they were not accepted by E. K. Rand, *CP* 4 (1909) 374. I have not consulted Carolingian materials extensively but have used primarily the Terentian glossary of Vat. Lat. 1471 printed in *CGL*, Schlee's collection, and the *Commentum Brunsianum* discussed by Rand (*P. Terentii Afri Comoediae Sex . . .*, ed. P. J. Bruns [Halle 1811]).

added comments that they felt to be useful for their understanding of the text.³²

Few passages afford specific evidence for the relationship of the scholia of hand 2 to those of hand 1. Most of the scholia in either hand are isolated notes, but it is only those few passages in which notes by both hands are present that offer any useful evidence at all. Even here, moreover, the simple presence of two nonconflicting notes, or even of two conflicting notes, is not always unambiguous. Mountford admitted two cases of conflicting scholia, at *Eun.* 7 and 169; but at *Eun.* 7 Donatus offers notes similar to the comments of both hands, and it is theoretically possible that hand 1 and hand 2 copied different sections of the same variorum comment. A similar solution is conceivable at *Eun.* 169.

Repetitions are more convincing evidence in that respect than are contradictions, as a variorum commentary would be unlikely to provide occasions for them. Thus, at *Eun.* 50, hand 1 wrote:

prius: melius; "quae prima mortalis putant,"

and hand 2 glossed *prius* with a suprascript *melior*. Mountford noted this, as well as similar repetitions at *Eun.* 84, 312, 397.³³ There are others as well; at *Eun.* 57, hand 1 wrote:

modum: dixit finem,

while hand 2 begins a much longer note with

modus est finis.

At *Eun.* 78 hand 1 glossed *recte feras* with

aequo animo debes ferre,

³² Professor Murgia and I disagree somewhat about the intentions and abilities of the scribes of the Bembine scholia, and as his knowledge of manuscripts is far greater than mine, I offer a part of his comment (above, n. 7): "In the world of manuscripts, scribal acts are far more common than creative acts, and . . . any extant manuscript is likely to contain mainly scribal acts. The act of making a selection of excerpts of a commentary in which the comments are reworded, or conscious selection is made from different sources, is a creative act. Mechanically combining different commentaries that already exist side by side, written by different hands like the two hands of the Bembine, is only a scribal act, and is, I think, a more likely explanation of the diversity of sources of the Bembine scribes than any conscious hunting from one manuscript to another . . . Autograph copies of the first act of excerpting, rewriting, and conflating a commentary (other than in the mere juxtaposing of different comments by different hands) are simply not to be found." It is my feeling that while such autograph copies are admittedly rare, there is no reason to deny the possibility of their existence. See also below, n. 38.

³³ Mountford 117 n. 1.

and hand 2 glossed *recte* with a suprascript *aequanimit̄er*. Even at *Heaut.* 72, one of Mountford's examples of a supplement, hand 2 repeats a phrase already used in hand 1's note.³⁴ While none of these repetitions proves that there was a different source, they do suggest that if there was only one source the scholiasts felt no qualms about alteration and adaptation. It is just as likely that the two hands had access to different sources, all bearing some vague relation to the tradition of school commentary on Terence.

Finally, we may note that Mountford's two examples of passages in which hand 2 seems to have completed a note by hand 1 are quite unconvincing. At *Eun.* 517 the note of hand 1 in the left margin is *euasit: dixit peruenit*,

and that of hand 2 in the right margin is

(*euasit:*) Vrg. "ut tandem ante oculos *euasit*."

Ultimately, of course, the two notes go together. But there is no reason to believe that they were copied from the same manuscript. The note of hand 1 has parallels both elsewhere in Donatus and in Servius' note on *Aen.* 2.531, the verse quoted here by hand 2. Taken together, this implies that the single source of the Bembine scholia on this line was the scholium of Donatus. That, however, has completely disappeared from our manuscripts of Donatus, although the same gloss as that of hand 1 is found also in the *commentarius antiquior*. All of this suggests that the note may have appeared in many forms adapted from a comment of Donatus. It does not mean that both scholiasts of the Bembine Terence drew it from a single source. The other example of a supplement given by Mountford is equally interesting: at *Eun.* 16, hand 1 glossed *laccessere* with *laedere*, and hand 2 added *prouocando*, clearly intended to supplement the earlier gloss. This, however, shows only that the second scholiast could not help being aware of the first's existence, and was capable of adapting and improving his notes. It does not mean that the hypothetical ur-Bembine had a single note, *laedere prouocando*, that hand 1 only wanted half of it, and that hand 2 kindly copied the rest. The gloss of hand 1 is unusual; none of the glossaries in *CGL* give *laedere* as the equivalent of *laccessere*, while most of them, including the Terentian glossary of Vat. Lat. 1471, give *prouocare* (*CGL* V 536.60), as do the *commentarius antiquior* (p. 95 Schlee) and Nonius

³⁴ As restored by Mountford, hand 1's note on *paenitet* reads "parum uidetur," while hand 2 notes: "Vergilius 'non metus officio nec te certasse priorem paeniteat' id est parum uideatur."

Marcellus (194 L). A more logical conclusion is that *laedere* is an eccentric gloss, possibly invented by the first scholiast himself, and that hand 2 altered it to fit the standard dictionary definition.³⁵ It implies not that hand 1 and hand 2 drew on the same source but that they drew on different ones.

The specific evidence given here, while sparse, suggests that there is no reason to assume that hand 1 and hand 2 drew on a single source, while a priori considerations would tend to show the opposite. Most important is the difference of half a century between the two hands, which has already been mentioned: it is simply unrealistic to believe that the Bembine Terence and the posited scholia-source remained in such close proximity for such a long time without leaving fuller signs of their relationship. More general considerations of the nature of the Bembine scholia also tend to reinforce this conclusion. If we refrain from thinking of these notes as a single corpus as printed by Mountford, but consider them rather as notes made by two individuals to clarify the text of Terence for their own use and for that of their friends and family, we will have a more suitable perspective. The scribes of the Bembine scholia surely did not think that they were composing a commentary or even two commentaries; they were simply putting notes in the margins of their copy of Terence for private use, in much the same way as a modern student or teacher might write explanatory notes or glosses for his own use. Some of these will have been original observations, of which many are simply paraphrases or glosses: some of them, on the other hand, were drawn from written sources — some from a dictionary, some from whatever copies of Terence or commentaries on Terence were at hand. Consistency, likewise, was not of prime importance. One section of hand 2 drew, quite clearly, on a copy of Donatus; another tends to quote the fourth book of the *Aeneid* for parallels.³⁶ Hand 1 introduces many of his glosses with *dixit*, while hand 2 rarely does;³⁷ hand 1 was only interested in two plays, and a little of a third, and neither scholiast seems to have cared for the *Hecyra*. This may be pure chance, or it may reflect some physical fact about

³⁵ *Laesi* and *laccessiti* are also variants in Servius on *Aen.* 12.6, where Professor Murgia believes that *laesi*, the reading not printed by Thilo, is correct. The two words are often found together, as in Livy 5.27.7, *nec laesi nec laccessiti a nobis*.

³⁶ The fourth book of the *Aeneid* is quoted by hand 2 four times on *Eun.* 59f.

³⁷ Cf. Wessner (above, n. 9) 40. The only true example of *dixit* followed by a gloss in hand 2 is at *Eun.* 368. At *An.* 899 Umpfenbach saw [. . .] *xit*, and attributed it to hand 1, while Mountford could not see even that, but assigned it, with hesitation, to hand 2. On *Ph.* 17 *dixit* is restored without justification.

hand 2's sources. (Hand 1, who annotated so little, cannot be assumed to have left the *Hecyra* out for any more profound reason than caused him to omit the *Phormio* or the *Adelphi*.) In sum, it is important to stress that the Bembine Terence, like so many other scholiastic copies, was a private book, not a public edition.³⁸

V

Having dealt with the elusive problem of the ur-Bembine scholia, we are in a better position to turn to the more concrete problem of the group of notes on *Phormio* 1-59 which appear to have been drawn from Donatus' commentary. We can also now set aside Mountford's hypothesis, that these notes, like all of the others, were copied from the margins of a single copy of Terence. The question remains, however, — and it is of great importance for our understanding of the transmission of Donatus — whether the Bembine scholiast (hand 2 unless otherwise noted) drew on a complete Donatus or on an abridged one. Wessner believed that the Bembine scholia were based on the extant compilation of Donatus. This was wrong, as Löfstedt showed, because some of the notes in the Bembine version of Donatus are more complete than those in our version. But Löfstedt did not complete the argument to show whether or not the original Donatus was used by the Bembine scholiast. It will be my purpose now to show that it was not, and that the Bembine scholiast, although he did not use our version of Donatus, used yet another abridgment of the original commentary than either of those which ultimately became part of our version.

The argument involved in showing that the Bembine scholiast drew on an abridged Donatus needs some preliminary explanation. The Bembine scholia, as was seen by Mountford and others, show obvious signs of shortening. There are many notes present even in our Donatus that are not found in the Bembine scholia on *Phormio* 1-59, and there are clear corruptions in the Bembine version. But this need

³⁸ Throughout this paper I make the assumption that hand 2 made use of more than one source. It is, of course, quite possible that what we now find in hand 2 in the Bembinus was copied from a manuscript which in turn had the notes of more than one scribe in it, just as the Bembinus now does. In that case the Donatian material on *Ph.* 1-59 discussed below might have been copied from a complete Donatus by a precursor of our hand 2 into a precursor of the Bembinus; while this would affect any conclusions about the number of abridgments of Donatus attested in antiquity, it does not make any difference with regard to the haphazard growth of late antique scholia demonstrated here. See also above, n. 32.

not show that the source used by the Bembine scholiast was corrupt or abridged, but only that the scholiast corrupted or abridged it in the course of transcription. Aside from being shorter, however, an abridgment of Donatus will have had one major difference from the complete commentary. While the original work of Donatus was obviously quite extensive, and probably could not be written in the margins of a copy of Terence, that is not true of an abridgment; and, in fact, the major reason for abridging a commentary would be to confine it to the margins of the text. Thus, while it is not possible to say directly whether or not the Donatus used by the Bembine scholiast was complete or abridged, it is possible to show from the evidence of misplaced and distorted scholia in the Bembine Terence that they were taken from a copy of Terence with marginal scholia, therefore an abridgment of Donatus.

Three notes in the Bembine Terence provide relatively secure evidence that the copy of Donatus used was written in the margins of a codex of Terence.³⁹ The first such note refers to *Phormio* 36ff:

erat ei de ratiuncula
iampridem apud me relicuom pauxillulum
nummorum.

In the Bembinus, these are the second to fourth lines on fol. 54v; in the top margin of the same page the following note is given, with a reference to *ratiuncula*:

[opportuna]
dimi[nutio] in ser
[uorum] ma[xima paup]
[ertate]. pausillulum
5 [quartus] gradus di
[minutionis]: paulum
[paululum pauxillum pau]xillulu<m>.

Despite the heavy damage sustained by this note, the restorations, based on the text of Donatus, are reasonably secure. But the note, as given here, is actually two notes: the note on *ratiuncula*, and a note on *pauxillulum* (here spelled *paus-*) which begins without any break or indication of a new lemma in line 4. There is no logical connection between the two, except that both refer to diminutives. The arrangement, moreover, suggests that the note represents a fusion of two notes in the right-hand margin of a text of Terence, referring to the last words

³⁹ It should be noted here that I report the text of Terence from the Oxford Text; I give Mountford's text of the Bembine scholia but retain the line divisions of the manuscript.

of two successive lines. Indeed, in our version of Donatus, the notes are separate. The first one has a parallel in the fourth of five notes in Donatus on line 36:

ERAT EI DE RATIVNCVLA opportuna diminutio in re seruili:
"ratiuncula" et "pauillulum."

The second is the same as the second of two notes on line 37:

PAVXILLVLVM quartus gradus diminutionis: paulum paululum
pauillum pauillulum.

It is possible that both of these notes were originally part of the same comment on the whole sentence, dealing with both diminutive forms together. But it is much more likely that the Bembine scholiast, in forming this note, was connecting two previously separate marginal comments.

Further evidence is provided by a scholium on *Phormio* 54-56:

GETA: amo te et non neglexisse habeo gratiam.

DAVOS: praesertim ut nunc sunt mores: adeo res redit:
si quis quid reddit magna habendast gratia.

In this case, verse 55 is the last line on fol. 54v, and 56 begins the new leaf. In the right-hand margin next to verse 56 we find the note:

ostenditur gratiarum [actione ue]
re necessariam fui[sse pecuniam].

The restorations, again based on Donatus, are secure. What is significant about this note is that it is clearly misplaced. Two references to *gratiarum actio* occur in these lines. In 56, where Davos has said that the times are such that thanks are due to someone who merely returns what he owes, the comment of the Bembine scholiast is clearly out of place. A note saying how necessary the money was must apply to verse 54, which is at the foot of the preceding leaf of the Bembinus. And, in fact, the parallel note of Donatus is found in connection with verse 54:

AMO TE ET N. N. H. G. hoc pro gratiarum actione ponitur, et ostenditur uere necessariam fuisse pecuniam.

Although the lemma is not quite correct — it should be NON NE-
GLEXISSE HABEO GRATIAM — the note is on the correct line. Moreover, it is not hard to see what has happened: there are numerous scholia on *Ph.* 54 in our Donatus, and it is conceivable that, in the version which the Bembine scholiast had before him, the note in question

came at the end. The Bembine scribe took it to belong to 56 rather than to 54. This is only plausible in a text of Donatus which was attached to a text of Terence, which would supply the mechanism for misplacing the note. It is not crowding in the Bembinus itself, moreover, that led to the misplacement; there appears to have been ample room at the foot of 54v.

A final piece of evidence for abridgment in the Bembinus' Donatus comes from another note on verse 54. In the bottom margin of fol. 54v we find the following scholium:

[a]mat quod reddidit pecuniam. redibitio debiti hoc agit ne oderimus
[debito]rem. "non neglexisse" hoc agit utrum quia conductum non
fefellerit,
[an quia lec]tum optulerit et numero congruenti.

It ought to be clear at once that something is wrong with the last sentence. The correct construction of *hoc agit* is found in the second sentence: the last sentence does not conform to this at all. If *non neglexisse* is supposed to be the subject of *agit*, as Mountford's punctuation suggests, then the rest of the sentence does not make sense. If *non neglexisse* is a lemma, then to whom or to what does *hoc agit* refer, and what does it mean? The correct reference is suggested by the parallel notes in Donatus:

(1) AMO. TE ET NON NEGLEXISSE H. G. amat quod reddiderit pecuniam, agit gratias quod diligenter. (2) et quare? utrum quia conductum non fefellerit an quia lectum attulerit et numero congruenti? (3) et recte dixit, nam redhibitio debiti hoc agit, ut etiam agamus gratiam.

Hoc agit in the Bembine scholia must refer to *amo*, or to *habeo gratiam* or to the whole sentence. What may have happened to the Bembine note is that its exemplar, as is common in all scholia, had shortened the lemma, and the abbreviated letters *h. g.* disappeared, as they did in another note on the same line in Donatus.

Finally, it is interesting to note that at least two of Löfstedt's examples of scholia that are more complete in the Bembine Terence than in our version of Donatus also seem to provide some support for my hypothesis, that the Donatus used by the Bembine scholiast was itself abridged. Thus, at *Ph.* 20,

benedictis si certasset, audisset bene,

the Bembine scholium reads:⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Two corrections to Mountford's text should be recorded here. He prints lines 1-4 and 5-9 as separate notes, although examination of the photograph

- bene "certasset," quia supra d[ixit "in medio pal]
mam esse" quasi dicat "quid[quid in certa]
men uener[it in eo uincen]
dus aemulu[s est"].
- 5 certamen st[udium ipsum]
est, sed etiam [contentio]
ne definitur. V[rg. "et certa]
men erat, Cor[cydon cum Thyri]
side magnum."

Löfstedt rightly pointed out that while the first four lines of this note are almost identical to a comment by Donatus, the second half is much fuller, as the quotation from the *Eclogues* (7.16) is not found in our Donatus.⁴¹ But the second sentence is also clearly different from the original comment of Donatus. It is no longer quite clear; its original sense is probably preserved in Donatus on *Ad.* 212 (cited by Mountford ad loc.):

proprie dixit certationem ipsum actum; nam certamen est ipsa res de qua certatur . . . certatio ipse actus contentioque certantium est.

Thus, it appears that the word which the Bembine scholiast should have been defining was not *certamen* but *certatio*: something has undoubtedly been lost. While this does not show conclusively that the Bembine scholiast drew on a marginal Donatus, it suggests that more than one stage of abridgment may have been involved.

The same is true of another example used by Löfstedt.⁴² On *Ph.* 48 the Bembine scholiast commented:

"natalis" non pure ponendum est. nam et ora natalis dicitur et dies ut hic. apud Oratium "pars uiolentior natalis orae."
Vrg. rusticitati serui ens "meus est natalis Iolla."

of the manuscript shows no valid reason for such a division. He also prints, as does Löfstedt, *in medio o<mnibus> pal-* in line 1, with no need; the quotation may have been faulty.

⁴¹ Löfstedt 46f.

⁴² Löfstedt 48.

Donatus on the same line noted:

VBI ERIT PVERO NATALIS DIES cum adiectione temporis cuiuslibet natalis melius dicitur, ut "natalis <hora>" et "natale astrum," sed Vergilius seruiens personae rusticae "meus est natalis" inquit "Iolla," nec addidit dies.

The Bembinus scholiast clearly preserves here a quotation that has disappeared from our Donatus, as has the word *hora*, restored from the parallel in the Bembinus. But even here, in one of Löfstedt's clearest examples, the Bembinus version is briefer and less comprehensible in its discussion of the citation of Virgil, and the use of *pure*, where Donatus probably wrote *absolute*, leads one to suspect an alteration.⁴³

It is not worthwhile here for me to review the rest of Löfstedt's examples; the Bembinus scholia are obviously abridged, and to quote more specimens of that abridgment does not show at what stage it occurred; some, undoubtedly, occurred in excerpting the original Donatus, some in copying from that copy into the Bembinus. It is worth noticing, however, that the scholia taken from the abridged Donatus in the Bembinus Terence offer us a chance to see the different types of error that occurred in transcription of marginal texts and to recognize the characteristics of the ancestor of our Donatus. The errors of the Bembinus scholiast are largely superficial. Other than simple orthographic irregularities, the Bembinus scholiast offers examples of mistakes of a careless sort. Thus *fuisse dictaque* for *fuit. editaque* (1), where the scribe has falsely joined words across the end of a sentence; similarly *dicitur* for *dici. cur* (9), where Donatus offers *responderi. cur*. We may also note *mulieribus* for *muneribus* (50), the unmetrical substitution of *apud* for *aduersum* in a quotation (54), the nonsensical *futuri* for *praesentis* (57) and, perhaps the best example of all, the thoughtless *agentibus in rebus* for *agentibus* (1), importing an extraneous contemporary reference. On the other hand, the errors of our Donatus are somewhat less recognizable. He often omits words; except for the error *inprudenciam* for *impudentiam* (4.1), the errors corrected from the Bembinus all involve omissions. Thus *illi* (2), *habet* (12), *alia* (25), *dixit* (32), *hora* (48), and *accipe* (53) have to be restored.

⁴³ I have noticed the word *purus* only once in Donatus' commentary, at *Ad.* 772: "nihil nunc in Syro nisi purum et simplex est ob ebrietatem." The word is never used in the sense demanded here. *Absolutus* (or another form of the same word) occurs in this sense in Donatus at *An.* 482, 817; *Eun.* 202, 211, 445, 980; *Ad.* 28, 49, 302, 582, 584, 643; *Hec.* 94, 286, 372, 421, 609, 625; *Ph.* 53, 233, 280.

VI

As far as the accuracy of our Donatus is concerned, the Bembinus scholia offer considerable enlightenment. Of the seventy-four notes on *Phormio* 1-59 in the Bembinus, fully ten have material not to be found in our version of Donatus, and six small lacunae in Donatus have been supplemented from the same source. Mountford managed to conclude from this evidence that our Donatus is shown by the Bembinus scholia to be relatively close to the original; in fact, the reverse is the case. There can be no doubt that neither commentary has preserved every note of the original Donatus on the opening of the *Phormio*, and even the abridged source of the Bembinus scholiast clearly had a good deal not to be found in our Donatus. The original Donatus disappeared in late antiquity, and will not be seen again.

On a more general level, the relations between the Bembinus scholia and Donatus offer a paradigm for the history of scholia in the critical period between the fourth and the sixth century. Donatus was clearly felt to be too bulky at a very early stage, and it was consequently shortened. That shortening, however, was not a simple process. Wessner posited two marginal abridgments as sources for our version of the commentary, and the Bembinus clearly shows knowledge of a portion of yet another. Priscian conceivably knew yet a fourth. All of this suggests strongly that abridgments were the commonest form of the commentary of Donatus, and that they were all individual abridgments, not copies of a single, authorized text. The scholia of the Bembinus Terence themselves suggest the same conclusion: they were clearly random notes drawn from several sources by more than one hand.

Finally, if we turn from the specific problem of the Bembinus scholia and Donatus to the original question of the general pattern of transmission of all ancient commentaries, Greek and Latin, there is something that may be added. In fact, it appears that all of the theories that have been advanced are at least partially correct. The very existence of works like those of Servius or Donatus shows that, as White saw, commentaries were compiled in late antiquity. On the other hand, Latin manuscripts offer little support for his belief that such scholia were already to be found in the margins of ancient codices. The final stage of the transmission of Donatus, recompilation from marginal excerpts, is similar in some respects to Zuntz's theory of the origins of the Aristophanes scholia; but on the other hand, he is clearly wrong to believe in the survival of much unaltered material to the ninth century. Finally, what

the pattern of Donatus and the Bembine scholia does suggest is that, as Wilson believes, no single pattern of development is correct for all scholia. There was a continuous flow of ancient scholarship into and out of variorum commentaries, margins, glossaries, and the like. At various times different sources might meet by chance, as in the Bembine Terence, or be recompiled intentionally, as in our Donatus. The growth and development of medieval scholia was not a simple process or a single change; its detailed history is yet to be written.

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SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

L. T. ADAMS — *Orientalizing Sculpture in Soft Limestone from Crete
and Mainland Greece*

WHEN in 1971 I undertook to examine the technique of the archaic limestone sculpture of mainland Greece, the Aegean Islands, and Magna Graecia, it quickly became apparent that the amount of material was far too vast to be covered in a work of this scope. Even the best-known of the sculptures lacked recent analyses of date and style and adequate reconstruction. None are so well known as their marble contemporaries, and some are unpublished and inaccessible.

The field was narrowed first by omitting the sculptures of the middle and late archaic period, as it is generally agreed that after the period of the Athenian pediments limestone sculpture conformed in style and technique to the dominant craft of marble sculpture. The inter-related schools of limestone sculpture in Naukratis, Cyprus, and Rhodes were seen to be peripheral to the central topics of the investigation: the origin and early development in Greece of the alternate technique of sculpture in limestone, whether it had any initial priority over marble sculpture, and how long it retained its individuality. The Cypro-Rhodian sculptures repeat a few themes many times over in a cursory technique and eclectic oriental style falling under the influence of developed Greek archaic style in the sixth century.

The Cretan, Corinthian, and Athenian schools may be isolated as the three in which limestone style and technique maintained an individual development for a period during the first century of Greek marble sculpture. As lack of space demanded a selection I decided to deal exclusively with the Cretan school, which remains the most fully documented. A fresh approach to this long series of sculptures, bearing in mind the important work of the last decades in the fields of early Greek and Near Eastern minor arts, supports these arguments: (1) Cretan limestone sculpture has no priority over the Cycladic schools of marble sculpture. The latter are the true originators of Greek sculpture under the decisive technical influence of Egypt, and had the dominant influence upon the later development of Greek sculpture. The Cretan school is merely

an interesting offshoot which attained monumentality and Dedalic iconography only under the influence of the Cyclades and East Greece. (2) The idea that marble sculpture developed out of a cruder technique of limestone sculpture, which in turn developed from a primitive technique of carving planks, must be given up. The earliest productions are the finest and most ambitious. The primitive style and technique of a number of early archaic soft-stone sculptures must not be used to argue for a high date, but represents a falling away later in the series of the fine early technique which was owed either to stronger foreign contacts or to more ambitious craftsmen who may eventually have migrated to the centers of marble sculpture. The series of sculptures from Boeotia and Lokris have been introduced to support this second point as they parallel developments in the Cretan series. (3) As a group the Cretan and mainland sculptures may be called "orientalizing," for they rely in style and iconography upon orientalizing major and minor, and early Greek minor, arts. They died out at the time when Greek minor arts ceased to be "orientalizing" and began to be truly "archaic" in style. If one must give a name to the group of early soft-stone sculptures, "orientalizing" is preferable to the misleading term "Dedalic."

The comparable orientalizing styles of vase painting and of non-figurative architectural decorations in Greece developed step by step into the full-fledged Greek styles of painting and decoration. But it is plain that the orientalizing style of sculpture in soft stone would not have developed likewise without the influence of Egyptian hard-stone technique and iconography. Egyptian influence must be vindicated as decisive at the inception and throughout the first century of Greek monumental sculpture.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Archaeology 1974

THOMAS DREW-BEAR — *Studies in Greco-Roman Phrygia*

This thesis presents a selection of essays concerning Phrygia in the Greco-Roman period. Care has been taken to include a wide range of different material in order to demonstrate the varied areas in which knowledge may be advanced by systematic study of the epigraphy, numismatics, and historical geography of a limited region. Thus Chapter I combines two inscriptions known since 1887 and 1889 respectively in order to reinterpret and rediate *senatus consulta* by which

the Roman Republic took possession of Phrygia after the death of Mithridates V Euergetes (cf. *Historia* 21 [1972] 75-87); Chapter II provides the first photograph of part of the Apameian copy of the decree by which the Province of Asia adopted in 9 B.C. a new calendar to honor Augustus; and the two following chapters contain military documents in Latin and Greek from the territory of Eumeneia. A review of the numismatic evidence results in exposure of several false testimonies which have obscured aspects of the relations between civilians and the military in Roman Asia Minor. A milestone erected by the Twelfth Legion fixes the course of the highway between Apameia and Eumeneia; a Latin epigraph erected by a *cornicularius* evokes the Roman garrison at the latter city; and a veteran's tombstone incompletely published in 1884 is now seen to find its place in a group of funerary monuments of a type characteristic of the city of Akmonia. A Latin inscription with a line-by-line translation into Greek mentions a freedman of a Roman resident at Eumeneia.

In chapter V an epitaph at the same city with a hitherto unknown indigenous name permits a reexamination of the theories of W. M. Ramsay concerning the names of the cities of Blaundos in Lydia and Amblada in Lykaonia, as well as discussion of the linguistic methods employed by that scholar. Finally, the topography and historical geography of Phrygia is studied first in the library (Chapter VI) and then on the terrain (Chapter VII); in both chapters, generally accepted theories are proved to be erroneous. An ancient settlement hitherto located southeast of Nakoleia is shown on the basis of evidence contained in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus in 431 to belong to the territory of Philadelphia in central Lydia, and two villages mentioned in the lists of the Xenoï Tekmoreioi are proved by an onomastic survival in modern Turkish and by new epigraphical documents to have stood in the valley where the city of Lysias has been placed without adequate evidence. A detailed examination of the history of the question demonstrates the inadequacy of each successive hypothesis and the basic errors of the methods of reasoning by which these results were obtained. Several fragments of letters from Eumenes II reinscribed in the Roman period, which may be dated to 166 B.C. and placed in the context of the military operations mounted from the royal Pergamene base at Apameia against the Galatians established at Synnada, permit deductions concerning the historical geography and the religious history of the area.

THOMAS GEORGE ELLIOTT — *The Pagan Bias of Ammianus Marcellinus, Books XIV–XXV*

This thesis examines that part of Ammianus' history (Books XIV–XXV) dealing with Constantius II and Julian the Apostate with a view to determining whether Ammianus should be regarded as an impartial historian. It is supposed by the author that there is some difficulty in maintaining that Ammianus was impartial, because he wrote unfavorably of Christian emperors and very favorably of Julian the Apostate, the hero of the work. It is also supposed that the argument that Ammianus is to be considered impartial because he sometimes praises Constantius II (and Valentinian) and sometimes criticizes Julian is a non sequitur. The most important points argued in the thesis are the following.

1. The emphasis of the work is on Julian.
2. Ammianus does not provide evidence in support of his repeated charges that Constantius was the dupe of court intrigues, that he was suspicious and cruel, and that he delighted in treason trials. He is generally unfair to Constantius.
3. Ammianus omits mention of Julian's apostasy until after the account of Julian's usurpation at Paris in 361. This has the effect of removing suspicion that Julian was not loyal to Constantius. Furthermore, against evidence from Julian's letters, and Libanius, Eunapius, Zosimus, and Zonaras, Ammianus claims that there was no plot at all to make Julian Augustus.
4. Julian's policy as emperor was the same as that of Constantius, except for his reversal of the religious policy in favor of the pagans. Ammianus fails to show the centrality of the religious policies in Julian's reign.
5. The Persian expedition of 363 was misconceived and mismanaged by Julian, who led the Romans to defeat. Ammianus blamed the necessary surrender of the Romans on Julian's Christian successor Jovian, even though he knew that Jovian had no alternative.
6. The hypothesis of an anti-Christian bias explains Ammianus' presentation. It also explains why the soldier-historian was rather rhetorical and not much interested in military organization; why a Greek who liked Antioch and disliked Rome went to live in Rome; and why he wrote his history in Latin, which he did not write at all well. Ammianus' history should be seen as part of the fourth-century pagan reaction in Rome.

MARY M. GARDINER — *Φύσις and Νόμος in the Plays of Sophocles*

The idea of essence or nature, with its connotations of the inborn, definitive, and true, forms the most basic meaning of *φύσις* in the fifth century, though it often has the sense of origin or birth. The pre-Socratics used *φύσις* in both ways, while Pindar saw it as the essence of the individual, in accord with which each should strive, thus contributing to its acceptance as a moral and normative force. Generalization about the physical nature of man began with the medical writers, who also used the word to express a normal state. This represents a step toward the establishment of *φύσις* as a standard. Thucydides, too, commented upon the human *φύσις*, generalizing about aspects of man's character and behavior. Like Euripides, he emphasized the compulsive side of man's nature.

Νόμος in the beginning had little relationship to *φύσις* but toward the end of the fifth century came to give up its position as a normative concept to it. It represented basically an external binding order, signifying everything from universally valid norms to specific beliefs, customs, and laws. Men like Heraclitus and Pindar considered its origins and authority divine, or even above divinity, and by virtue of this a *νόμος* or *νόμοι* were valid for the groups living under them.

However, the erosion of the concept began early with the use of its related verb *νομίζω* by some of the pre-Socratics in speaking of opinions which, though generally accepted, were farther from absolute truth than their own beliefs. Protagorean rejection of objective standards of behavior, as well as the recognition and establishment of differing and contradictory *νόμοι* with little reference to the gods, completed the process. In literature this was aided by the acceptance of the idea of relativity and description of differing customs. Men thus came to seek some other standard for right behavior, a normative standard more objectively true and universal than divine imposition or merely ancient designation as *νόμος*. *Φύσις*, as something innate and true, shared by all men and normal for them, as science and medicine had pointed out, came to be recognized as that standard.

The conflict between *φύσις* and *νόμος* probably began before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Traditionally, Archelaus was the first to declare that the innate essence of things is basically neutral with regard to what *νόμος* designates as right or wrong. The Sophists deserve the most credit for fully developing the antithesis and for making *φύσις* the ultimate standard for behavior. A clear implication of the long fragment of Antiphon (B44) is that only the true essence of things

should determine what is valid for them, not the principles imposed from outside. Thucydides actually refers to the necessity of *φύσις*, by which the stronger rules, as a *νόμος*. Its grounding in *ἀναγκαίη φύσις*, not customary usage, gives this *νόμος* its validity. In contrast, Euripides (*Bacchae* 890–896) asserts the identity of the two in a different manner: the continued vitality of a custom or law through a long period of time is considered proof of its basis in the inborn essence of man.

Sophocles, too, saw some identity in *φύσις* and *νόμος*, considering the moral *φύσις* of man expressive of divinely established *νόμος*. He neither accepted the Sophist's extreme advocacy of the standards of *φύσις*, which excluded traditional concepts of ethics and morality, nor supported *νόμος* in all its forms. Indeed, like the Sophists, he denied many of the ideas of conventional morality embodied in that term, while sharing with Heraclitus and Pindar a belief in a different sort of *νόμος*, an overriding and divine standard of right and wrong.

It is in the distinguishing of the two sorts of *νόμος* that Sophocles' idea of *φύσις* becomes operative, for it is only man's nature which can give life and meaning to the divine *νόμιμα*; only through the best promptings of the human *φύσις* are these laws expressed. Thus, he did not reject the validity of *φύσις* as a standard but, in contrast to the Sophists, gave it a moral/ethical basis.

Yet, while he seems to acknowledge that man in general has an innate capacity for moral knowledge and action, Sophocles believes that certain individuals — his heroes — are distinguished for their moral passion. Indeed, in most of the tragedies it is the *φύσις* of the hero which is clearly and ultimately the arbiter of morality. There is ambiguity in the *Ajax*, for the hero's greatness can be thought of as less than universal in scope. In the *Trachiniae* the moral impact of the protagonists' natures tends to be obscured by the concentration upon the limitations of the human *φύσις* and upon their irrational suffering.

Yet despite these reservations, the Sophoclean hero is an embodiment of the great *νόμιμα*, partaking of them through the modes of knowledge and action. The intuitive knowledge of the morality of a situation, which is part of his *φύσις*, leads to action. Only when the protagonist willingly acts in accord with this knowledge does his *φύσις* fully express itself as an exemplar of the *νόμιμα*. In doing so it gains a measure of the permanence, the freedom from change, toward which he is drawn.

Seen in another way, the *φύσις* of the hero acts as a lens, focusing our vision in a way which eliminates the conventional, leaving only a clear and unchanging view of the *νόμιμα*. Before our eyes we see the received

truths of the Chorus and lesser characters, their ideas of *σωφροσύνη*, *φρόνησις*, and *εὐσέβεια*, grow hollow and superficial in the face of the hero's actions, redefined in his own terms. These new definitions are seen to be closer to the basic truth of the overriding *νόμοι*.

Though this tends to separate the hero from those around him, the gap becomes diminished as his *φύσις* acts upon the others within his sphere. His nature, in which the objective standards of the *νόμιμα* become subjective, turns outward, acting as a normative force modifying others and drawing them up toward his level of moral awareness. His *φύσις*, insofar as it is expressive of the unchanging and divine laws of the cosmos becomes a valid *νόμος* by which they modify their own natures. The *φύσις* of man, for Sophocles, is not simply an inherited essence finally formed at birth, but a more plastic entity capable of being molded and of growing through the action of other natures.

Finally, the *νόμιμα* are not solely reflected in the protagonist's *φύσις*. Sophocles views the cosmos as a whole in which physical and moral come together and overlap. The fecundity and health of the land and its inhabitants vary directly as their justice and reverence. Disruption in the moral sphere can produce a reaction in the physical world, a swift and reflexive upheaval, like a plague. Though it is an old motif, this rising up of the physical world is not completely at odds with Sophistic views, for it is strongly reminiscent of the punishment δι' ἀλήθειαν which Antiphon says will follow violation of τὰ τῆς φύσεως.

In the apotheosis of Oedipus Sophocles realizes most fully his concept of the union of *φύσις* and *νόμος*. What is more or less implicit in the earlier plays becomes completely explicit and takes on concrete dramatic form as the divine overtakes the human in Oedipus. Yet the earlier works are not to be thought of merely as preparations for the final drama. Sophocles' ideas regarding the relationship between *φύσις* and *νόμος* are felt even in the *Ajax*. In the face of the shifting of standards from *νόμος* to *φύσις* in the fifth century, the dramatist remained generally true to his own vision.

At the node of the cosmos, then, where physical and moral, human and divine, meet one another, stands Sophocles' hero, uniting the seemingly disparate. He represents the moral potential of human nature made fully actual, and in this his *φύσις* is subsumed into the divine *νόμος*.

ELSA PETERSON GIBSON — *Montanism and Its Monuments*

This thesis presents nine new inscriptions from ancient Phrygia, of which eight are definitely Christian. Seven of these are from the Upper Tembris Valley in northern Phrygia, and the other two are from southern Phrygia. All are epitaphs.

Of the seven north Phrygian inscriptions, three belong to a unique series of pre-Constantinian epitaphs which profess Christianity openly by the words "Christians to Christians" and often display a cross at the top of the monument. A fourth epitaph (no. 5) professes Christianity by the open use of the cross alone; it is the first memorial from a surface cemetery to do so. A fifth monument (no. 6) appears to be a member of the series too but is so worn that no conclusions can be drawn from it regarding its Christianity. One epitaph, actually the first one presented, displays a device, viz., the substitution of a cross for the letter chi in the inscription, characteristic of south Phrygian "nonprovocative" epitaphs. The seventh north Phrygian inscription displays a unique combination of "nonprovocative" and "open-profession" motifs; it is described below.

Two more phanero-Christian epitaphs were found in south Phrygia and belong to a subgroup of the series, in which the Christianity either of the deceased or of the survivors, but not of both, is stated. Pre-Constantinian Christian epitaphs in this part of Phrygia are normally "veiled" or "nonprovocative."

The introduction to this thesis, which is almost half its length, reopens the question of whether these phanero-Christian epitaphs are or are not Montanist. I set forth the history and tenets of the sect and present the history of the question. As the title indicates, I decide that they are Montanist, basing my argument on the coexistence of phanero-Christian and "nonprovocative" pre-Constantinian epitaphs in both north and south Phrygia: neither type can then be said to be merely epichoric, although the "veiled" type predominates in the south, and the "open-profession" type in the north. To strengthen my argument I attempt to characterize the Christianity of the Upper Tembris Valley as rigorist and unconventional until at least the fifth century.

Into this context of nonconformity the seventh north Phrygian inscription (the ninth and last in the thesis) fits; it combines the Eumeneian Formula, the "nonprovocative" device par excellence, with open use of the cross. The epitaph is probably an early fourth-century one, and must have been carved shortly after the legalization of Christianity.

STEPHEN T. KELLEY — *Homeric Correction and the Metrical Distinctions between Speeches and Narrative*

Epic correction is the metrical shortening of a long vowel or diphthong before a following vowel or diphthong, usually at word-boundary. The incidence of this phenomenon was studied in the *Iliad* and selected books of the *Odyssey*. Correction occurs in 40 percent of the lines of the speeches, 20 percent of the lines of the narrative, book after book, with only minor and insignificant deviations from these averages. These figures hold true even for books whose authenticity has been questioned, such as the first and tenth books of the *Iliad*, though interesting variations were noted in the narrative of book 9 and in the description of the shield in book 18. The genre-distribution of correction shows that the metrics of Homeric narrative differ noticeably from the metrics of Homeric speeches.

When other divisions of the material are made, further subtle distinctions are seen. For instance, in "quoted narrative" — a digression within a speech in which the speaker relates an exemplum or reminiscence dealing obliquely with the subject in hand but having no direct bearing on the events currently taking place around him — the correction-figure drops to around 20 percent, the expected figure for narrative rather than for a speech; and when a speaker of quoted narrative introduces a quotation-within-a-quotation, the figure for correction actually goes back up to the vicinity of 40 percent.

It would be manifestly absurd to seek an explanation for these facts in a theory that the oral bard feels some kind of constraint against this so-called license of metrics in his narrative but introduces it more liberally in the speeches. No oral poet working under the constraints of simultaneous composition and performance has that kind of synchronic control over his meter.

Jerzy Kuryłowicz pointed the way to a solution when he noted that correction must have been both a phonological and a metrical fact of Indo-European. And since Robert Beekes has shown that the laryngeals whose workings cause this phenomenon remained operative at word-final position down to the stage of the separate languages, it can be seen that in the case of Greek epic the high incidence of correction represents a preserved archaism. Therefore the formulas of the speeches must be older than those of narrative. Data that other scholars have gathered, on caesura, elision, etc., also point in this direction.

Therefore we posit the existence of a proto-epic consisting of versified speeches and an interstitial prose narrative. (This would explain

why over half of the lines in the Homeric corpus are speeches.) Myles Dillon has arrived at similar conclusions on the original nature of Old Irish and Vedic Sanskrit poetry. The formulas for versified narrative, though modeled generally after those of the speeches to fit the hexameter, were composed at a stage in which correction had ceased to be a characteristic of the living language. Therefore the innovating genre of narrative carries it only in reduced amounts as a feature of the *Dichtersprache*. Quoted narrative, with its correction figures close, but not identical, to those of narrative, must have provided the model for the creation of narrative, the pivot for the transition.

The speeches, then, are the more archaic genre, as their metrics show, and the narrative is the locus for innovation. The conservatism of the speeches can also be seen in the attitude toward language expressed by the narrator and by characters in the poem. Language is regarded as a conservative, normative medium for dealing with a traditional society.

An appendix deals with the question of just how "doubtful" the *syllaba anceps* really was in the Homeric poems.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1974

RICHARD C. MONTI — *Studies in the Literary Tradition of Aeneid 4*

In composing the Dido book Vergil seems to have relied heavily on the well-established tradition of Hellenistic love narrative. Because the vast majority of that poetry no longer survives, it is difficult to assess Vergil's work against the literary tradition which helped inspire it. Apollonius' treatment of the Medea story in the *Argonautica* and Catullus' Ariadne story in *Carmen* 64 are the only works that link *Aeneid* 4 directly to the earlier tradition. These works are valuable in themselves and as furnishing criteria on which to assess and evaluate Vergil's poetry. But one must bear in mind that they are merely two representatives of an abundant literature that is otherwise almost entirely lost. As a result, the justification for using them alone as the basis for conclusions on the tradition in general is slight.

It is for this reason that Parthenius' collection of love stories is of considerable importance. Parthenius was a self-conscious Hellenistic poet, a man who was influential in shaping the aesthetic attitudes of neoteric poetry. It is reasonable to assume that his collection would reflect the main features of the tradition and therefore provide the

opportunity to make some general statements about it. The validity of the conclusions drawn from a study of the type of narrative that Parthenius recommends for elaboration in poetry is confirmed by a comparison with the narratives of Apollonius, Catullus, and Vergil. The works of these poets exhibit the same characteristics that mark Parthenius' stories. The collection and the poems present a consistent picture.

An analysis of Parthenius' narratives indicates that they can be categorized according to a specific story-type. The narratives are clearly defined units which consist of a single cohesive set of events that proceed from an initial exposition to a satisfactory conclusion; they are, in short, composed of single plots. On the given elements of the stories there are imposed a limited number of specific narrative patterns, patterns of choice or discovery or composites of the two. Thus the traditional material of any story is shaped in conformity with these crucial points of the narrative. In addition to general structural features Parthenius' stories are further characterized by a similarity of content. It is the forbidden or illicit love on which the stories concentrate. The satisfaction of the passion is proscribed by moral norms; passionate love and morally upright conduct are brought into conflict with each other.

This description of the type of story that Parthenius relates suitably characterizes the narratives of Apollonius, Catullus, and Vergil. The story of Medea's love is integrated into the expansive narrative of Jason's adventures. But like the narratives of Ariadne and Dido which are self-standing units of larger poems, Apollonius' account is informed by the patterns observable in Parthenius' collection. Both choice and discovery patterns are evident in Apollonius' treatment. The central issue of *Argonautica* 3 is Medea's decision to indulge her passion for Jason, and Apollonius focuses attention on the emotional conflict which the heroine experiences. So also in the fourth book it is Medea's realization of her imminent abandonment that generates her speech of complaint to Jason; this in turn motivates the next phase of the action, the murder of Apsyrtus. The adherence of Catullus' Ariadne narrative to the discovery pattern indicates its relation to the tradition represented by Parthenius' collection. Ariadne's perception of her abandonment becomes the focus upon which the standard elements of the Theseus-Ariadne story are fixed. *Aeneid* 4 follows the structural logic inherent in the works of Vergil's predecessors. Dido's decision to indulge her passion for Aeneas and her reaction to his departure are the events which shape the flow of narration. The narrative conforms to a compo-

site pattern of choice and discovery which is well represented in Parthenius' book.

The conflict between passion and morally acceptable behavior that characterizes Parthenius' stories has its counterpart in the treatments of Apollonius and Catullus. Both Medea and Ariadne are faced with a decision between mutually exclusive propositions, either indulgence of their passion or observation of their family obligations. Vergil's narration of a conflict for Dido is a convincing proof of the conventionality of this feature of the tradition. The Dido story, as related by Timaeus and, after him, by Justin, told of the queen's unflinching fidelity to the memory of her dead husband. It is this element of the traditional story that Vergil appropriates in order to formulate Dido's emotional conflict. Significantly, however, Vergil composes freely within the guidelines of the tradition. It is not a moral norm, but rather a personal code of behavior that forbids the satisfaction of her love.

The study of Parthenius' narratives is useful because it brings to light the broad outlines of the tradition of Hellenistic love narrative which Vergil followed. But for specific points of his elaboration it is necessary to turn to the works of Apollonius and Catullus. Vergil's debt to his predecessors in love narrative is evident in Dido's lament over her desertion by Aeneas. The lament of the abandoned woman contains a number of traditional elements which can be traced through Euripides' *Medea* to Apollonius, *Argonautica*, and Catullus 64. Medea's speech to Jason in the play is the prototype of the lament; it sets out the themes which were later to be elaborated in narrative poetry. The specific themes of the lament recur in the same sequence in the writings of Apollonius, Catullus, and Vergil. The heroine complains of the hero's faithlessness, compares her services to him with his desertion of her, bemoans the isolation caused her by the desertion, and finally curses the hero.

Although Vergil indicates his reliance on his predecessors by incorporating into his narrative the themes of the lament in their traditional order, this is not a reason for assuming that he reproduces what had already been done. In the Greek tradition represented by Euripides, Apollonius, and Catullus, the theme of faithlessness meant the hero's neglect of the oaths of marriage he had made to the heroine. The same cannot be said of the Dido story. The relationship between Dido and Aeneas is conceived as a political alliance as well as an erotic relationship. Accordingly, when the rupture of the affair occurs, Dido uses the almost technical vocabulary of Roman political alliance in making the complaint. Once this change in the meaning of the theme of faithlessness

is recognized, it becomes possible to see how the other traditional themes of the lament are endowed with a new significance.

The composition of narrative erotic poetry required the adherence to a set of well-defined conventions which are evident both in the stories of Parthenius' collection and in the treatments of Apollonius and Catullus. Thus Vergil's introduction of the Roman political vocabulary into his narrative is to be recognized as a significant innovation. The only precedent he had for adopting this diction into poetry is the Lesbia epigrams of Catullus. Significantly, both Catullus and Vergil use the terminology in the context of a love relationship. The fact that this purely Roman terminology finds a place in Vergil's love narrative is a sign both of his mastery of the literary tradition and of his own originality.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1973

EDMOND J. MORRISSEY — *Studies in Inscriptions Listing the Agonistic Festivals*

These studies attempt to define, through an extensive survey of agonistic inscriptions and related documents, the principles of precedence which governed lists of festivals from the early fifth century B.C. up to late Imperial times. Twelve inscriptions have, with the aid of photographs and facsimiles, been subjected to close examination; each presents some problem in regard to restoration, dating, or interpretation. A synopsis covering the major developments in listing of festivals over the period 600 B.C.—A.D. 260 has been included. Since, in the case of festival names, the requirements of prosody precluded the use of an order based upon principles of precedence or chronology, verse inscriptions not accompanied by a prose list have been omitted.

All agonistic inscriptions, whatever their period, have certain elements in common. The first is, naturally, the name of the victor. The patronymic was usually included. As a rule, ethnika are found in inscriptions set up at the Panhellenic centers, but were, for obvious reasons, optional on monuments situated in the athlete's native city. Athenian victors occasionally employed their demotika in local inscriptions, particularly if they were also public officials (*IG* II² 3130). Secondly, each inscription specified some festivals at which the athlete obtained victories. Such lists did not necessarily provide a complete account of the victor's career. Minor festivals and victories in the boys' and youths' class of competition would often be omitted or else summarized briefly toward

the end of the inscription. Great care was taken to avoid ambiguity in dealing with festivals which shared the same name (e.g., the many Pythia), usually by adding a locative phrase.

A third requisite, the name(s) of the event(s) won at each festival, has not always been sufficiently recognized by those attempting restoration. Depending on the circumstances, one of two methods was employed in providing this apparently essential information. Whenever an athlete's victories were achieved in only one form of competition, the name of the event (e.g., pankration) would be inscribed above the list of festivals. It was, however, not unusual for an athlete to have victories in two or more different but unrelated sports. In that case, a separate entry identifying the event was made next to each festival in the list. Repetitive listing of a festival and event indicated victories obtained in different years; a single entry for a festival followed by two or more different events signified multiple victories obtained in the same year.

The agonistic inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. exhibit a marked degree of uniformity. Most of them list only victories at the Panhellenic games; the Panathenaia are found in some lists, not all of them from Attike (e.g., *CIG* 1715, *ILindos* 68). A few inscriptions of this period appear to have been ordered chronologically, but the majority employ a regular order of importance for the games: Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea. There is, however, no reason to believe that this order was in any sense officially determined. Preliminary investigations with regard to precedence in Greek lists generally have suggested that official orders, none of which were Panhellenic, were utilized either to avoid implications of ranking or else to provide a standard for listing where no other criteria existed. The fixed order of the ten Attic Phylai falls within the first category; calendars are illustrative of the second.

Athletic inscriptions of the Hellenistic period prior to 200 B.C. bear little resemblance to those of the preceding and subsequent centuries. The fact that so few of them have been recovered may not be a matter of coincidence, but it is a complication to any fair assessment. Lists increased in size, owing mostly to the inclusion of victories at minor festivals and in boys' and youths' competition. The prominence of the Panhellenic games was somewhat diminished. Travel by athletes appears to have been limited; their victories were concentrated in festivals held at or near their native cities. The unsettled political conditions of the age may have discouraged touring. There is as yet no evidence from the third century B.C. for deliberate ranking of the festivals. The most

influential factor in drawing up lists appears to have been the chronological order in which victories were won (*CIG* 1515; *IG* IV 2.142).

Coincident with the beginnings of Roman influence in Greece, and perhaps because of it, conditions for athletic competition appear to have improved. Partly because of the large number of new festivals instituted in this period, agonistic inscriptions tended to be larger and more varied. A greater sense of order is evident in the listing of the Panhellenic games, which were preferred above all other festivals. A fair number of lists begin with a festival held at the victor's native city, this being the only general exception to the primacy of the Olympia. Some athletes traveled quite extensively, amassing numerous victories at minor local games (*BCH*, 1907, 432-435; *Hesp.* 1935, 88-90).

The effects of the Principate on Greek agonistic inscriptions was immediate and lasting. As one of his first measures, Augustus reconstituted the Aktia, formerly a local festival of Nikopolis, as a memorial to his naval victory. The new festival acquired unparalleled prestige, second only to the Olympia and Pythia in some lists (*IPergamon* 535; *IMagnesia* 149; *IOly* 237; *IG* XIV 739, 746, 747). A second Imperial festival, held in Naples and entitled the Sebastia, was established in honor of Augustus in A.D. 2. The Sebastia quickly joined the roster of festivals considered indispensable by serious athletes. They occupy a position near the beginning of many lists, usually just below the Aktia.

With the foundation of the Kapetolia by Domitian in A.D. 86, the supremacy of the Olympia was, for the first time, seriously challenged. The new festival precedes the Panhellenic games in the otherwise orderly inscription *IG* XIV 746, dated c. A.D. 90, and again in an inscription dated c. A.D. 110 (L. Moretti, *Iscr. Agon. Gr.*, no. 69). The Kapetolia are second only to the Olympia in *IG* XIV 747, also dated c. A.D. 110. A fourth Imperial festival, the Eusebeia, was established by Antoninus Pius as a memorial to Hadrian. These games were likewise favored over many long-established festivals in lists of the period immediately following their institution (*IGRom* III 370, IV 1519; *IG* XIV 1102, etc.).

The common characteristic of lists which include the Imperial festivals is the tendency to afford them prominent positions in the years immediately after they were established. After a respectable length of time, during which the new games and their founders lost something of their lustre, a reassessment was made in favor of the older festivals. The inscriptions from the close of antiquity are typified by conservatism and stability in the ranking of festivals. The Panhellenic games regained their unqualified preeminence. A few of the other Hellenic

contests, notably the Aspis at Argos, the Panathenaia, the Panhellenia, and the Athenian Olympia, were especially well regarded. In ordering the multitude of local and provincial games, classifications based upon geography were commonly employed. The festivals of Greece proper preceded those of Asia Minor. Within each class, the festivals of each city and region were grouped together. Whenever one contest was particularly important in relation to its group (e.g., the games conducted by the Koinon of Bithynia), it was customary to place it first.

The prime consideration with regard to precedence in agonistic inscriptions centered around the question of which festival deserved first place. The extent to which ranking was continued in the lesser positions varied considerably, but far more attention was given to second place than third. The practical limit, without subdivisions, appears to have been seven or eight levels of distinction. An interesting development in the first and second centuries A.D. is the placing of the Nemea before the Isthmia among the Panhellenic games (*IG* VII 49, XIV 739, II-III² 3169/70). This is in accordance with the manuscript order of Pindar's *Odes* which some have attributed to a medieval transposition.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Philology 1974

JOHN P. OLESON — *The Later Etruscan Tombs as Architectural Compositions: A Catalogue and Study of the Origins*

The Etruscan necropoli have never ceased to excite curiosity or greed in those who have stumbled upon their soft, tufa facades or forced entry into their frescoed chambers. After the disappearance of the culture which had supervised their construction and of the way of life which had sanctified and protected their contents, the logic behind the decorative systems was lost, and the tombs became merely an unguarded storehouse of treasure. Although the plundering of the Etruscan necropoli has continued to the present, archaeological exploration and research has also proceeded at a rapid pace in the last century, and a great deal of effort has been expended in the study of the types of Etruscan tombs, their origin, and their evolution. As yet, however, a detailed study of the Etruscan tombs of the late classical and Hellenistic periods is lacking, and this thesis is meant to serve as a preliminary treatment of the available material.

One reason for the lack of a general study of the later tombs is the

diffusion of the published source material concerning the necropoli and the individual tombs, a situation which makes it difficult to obtain a uniform familiarity with the whole field. Some publications dealing with single necropoli exist, but they refer almost entirely to southern Etruria and differ greatly in competence and detail. The preparation of a catalogue of the later tombs (inserted in the thesis as Chapter II) consequently proved a necessary preliminary to the architectural research. One hundred fifty-nine tombs from twenty-four different sites were catalogued, and an attempt was made to include photographs and drawings detailed enough to supplement each description. All the major tombs previously known or still in existence in both the southern and the northern necropoli were included, as well as others which are less well known but remain important as transitional types, as chronological markers, or as evidence for construction techniques and necropolis organization. A statistical approach was necessary in the case of certain common tomb types, such as the cube tombs of Norchia and Castel d'Asso and the row tombs of Cerveteri, while an attempt was made to catalogue every example of innovative designs, such as the barrel-vaulted tombs around Chiusi and Perugia.

The comprehensive, factual information provided by this catalogue allowed a more precise and detailed evaluation of the architectural evolution of the later tombs than had previously been attempted (Chapter III). As an organizational tactic — based, however, on real differences in the problems of construction and use — the tombs were divided into four categories: the rock-cut facade tomb, the rock-cut chamber tomb, the rock-cut chamber tomb with built facade, and the built chamber tomb. The structural definition of each type of tomb was followed by a discussion of its geographical and chronological range, its origin and method of use, and the distinctive meaning, if any, attached to it. A special attempt was made to isolate the native and foreign sources behind the developments in architectural form.

The category of the rock-cut facade tomb includes the cube-tomb, which appeared in the archaic period, as well as two variants developed from it in the fourth century: the cube tomb with lower facade and the cube tomb with upper portico. The gabled tomb facade, which apparently also appeared in the fourth century, was peripherally related to the cube-tomb tradition but involved the outward expression of the gabled chamber design utilized throughout southern Etruria. The aedicula facade, which occurs only at Sovana, was related in turn to both the gabled tomb facade and the traditional Etruscan temple architecture. There may also have been cross-fertilization from some

built aedicula facades at Vulci. The columnar, gabled facade, which occurs in only three examples, may have been the result of new developments in Etruscan temple architecture, although the influence of gabled, columnar tomb facades in various parts of the Greek world is also possible. The only two facade tombs for which foreign models must be postulated are the Tomba Ildebranda at Sovana and the Tomba Lattanzi at Norchia. The rock-cut facade tomb was found to be stable in the face of changes in social arrangement of the burial group or alterations in burial procedure. In contrast, these factors proved to be the major forces behind the evolution of the rock-cut chamber tomb, but since the facade tomb was more closely related to the needs of the living, changes in its design were naturally the result of alterations in cult procedure or the attitude of the living toward the dead.

The architectural evolution of the rock-cut chamber tomb, which can be classified in terms of the designs in use at the major sites — Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Vulci, and Volterra — was entirely self-contained and remained unaffected by non-Etruscan influence. At Cerveteri the major types were the row tomb and the clan tomb, both of which depended on the use of benches and wall *loculi* for the accommodation of the dead. At Tarquinia, the fourth century saw the development of two major designs, the bench chamber and the sarcophagus chamber, which seem to have combined in the second century to form a third type with benches and sarcophagi together. The major type of tomb which can be identified in the material presently available at Vulci is the *atrium* and *tablinum* chamber, possibly related to a plan utilized in Etruscan domestic architecture. The rock-cut chamber tombs of northern Etruria were less carefully worked, but several patterns can be recognized at Volterra, culminating in the circular tombs of the Hellenistic period.

There were several types of chamber tombs with built facade. In each case the chamber was part of the normal local or regional tradition, while the built facade was atypical or unique, since it resulted from specific problems of local geology, patterns of use, or the vagaries of individual taste. The largest subdivision is formed by a group of tombs at Vulci and Tuscania which had sculptured pediments added above the entrance door. Since it is probable that this type of facade developed at Vulci in imitation of a temple of Dionysos in the city, the popularity of the type may have been related to the rapid spread of the Bacchic cult in Etruria in the early second century. Several rock-cut chambers at Chiusi and Volterra were connected with built facades resembling monumental cippi, a design which may have been traditional but could

also have been reintroduced to Etruria from the Greek world in the fourth century.

The built tombs of the later period are confined almost entirely to northern Etruria, since the geology of that region was unfavorable for careful or elaborate designs cut in the rock. Most of these tombs were essentially luxury sepulchers, but they were set apart only by their structure and cost, and the burials contained in them showed no peculiarities in burial rite or spiritual significance. The most widespread and numerous design was the barrel-vaulted chamber, of which fourteen different examples are known at nine different sites around Chiusi and Perugia. Since there was no precedent for this type of tomb in Etruria, it must be considered a foreign importation of the late third or early second centuries. The Tanelle of Cortona also appeared in imitation of non-Etruscan tombs, but the slab-built and gabled tombs of Chiusi, S. Marinella, and Fiesole were probably derived from native tomb designs of the archaic period.

Consideration of the type of decoration appended to the tomb designs (Chapter IV) is only of peripheral importance to the architectural topic. The decorative systems utilized in the later Etruscan tombs were designed to suit the type of chamber and facade, having no effect on the evolution of the form itself.

The discussion of construction techniques (Chapter V) and patterns of necropolis organization (Chapter VI) is important for a full understanding of Etruscan sepulchral architecture. Study of the techniques of construction reveals that plans were unnecessary and probably not used in the carving or construction of facades or chambers; this was a craftsman's architecture, executed by trained workers with simple tools on the basis of a verbal description. Once the design, dimensions, and material had been selected, the workmen proceeded alone, sorting out problems of execution as the construction advanced. The process of necropolis organization can be determined in part by an examination of the sites. Where the existence of a road or the exigencies of topography determined the lines of necropolis expansion, this growth was the result of relatively uncontrolled, individual decisions concerning site planning and land use. This was the normal process of development in Hellenistic Etruria, but at Tarquinia and Cerveteri an attempt was made during the fourth century and later to apply artificial methods of organization which must have required the intervention of municipal or priestly authority. This regulation may have been necessitated by overcrowding and the agricultural value of the land on which the tombs were situated.

Suitable sources for the few tomb designs which were introduced into Etruria from abroad during the Hellenistic period are to be found in the eastern Aegean (Chapter VII). The concept of the barrel-vaulted chamber was connected with the tradition of Greek barrel-vaulted tombs, and technical considerations suggest that Pergamon may have been the point of transmission. The Tanelle of Cortona can be connected with tombs at Hierapolis, a Phrygian military colony of Eumenes II. The design of the Tomba Ildebranda may have been inspired by the Heroon at Belevi, while that of the Tomba Lattanzi can be connected with some probability with the Archokrateion at Lindos. The war between the Romans and Antiochos III, and the subsequent rapid growth of Roman interests in the eastern Mediterranean, provides a suitable historical framework for the presence of Etruscans (as Italian allies) in the cities where these designs were originally utilized (Chapter VIII).

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Degree in Classical Archaeology 1973

ROBERT J. PENELLA — *The Letters of Apollonius of Tyana: Introduction, Translation, and Selective Commentary*

This dissertation represents the beginnings of a proposed critical edition of, and full commentary on, the *Letters of Apollonius of Tyana*. The introduction examines ancient testimonia on the letters. Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*, in which the sage's letters are frequently quoted or referred to, is our most important source of information, though Philostratus cannot escape the suspicion of having fabricated some of the letters in the *Vita* himself. After Philostratus' *Vita*, except for a laudatory reference to Apollonius' epistolary skills in an essay in the *Corpus Philostrateum* usually ascribed to the younger Philostratus and Porphyry's quoting of one letter in his *De Styge*, there is nothing more until Stobaeus selects twenty-two letters (or quotations from originally longer letters?) for inclusion in his *Anthology*. The appearance of these letters in Stobaeus is not surprising in light of the well-attested interest in Apollonius as a pagan "saint" in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The translation is based on C. L. Kayser's edition of the *Letters* (1853); a Greek text is included for the reader's convenience. *Ep.* 81 has been bracketed; it is a fragment of Simonides from Stobaeus' *Anthology* and entered modern editions of the *Letters* apparently through an editorial mistake of Olearius. Also four letters from Stobaeus that have been overlooked in previous editions of the *Letters* are included

here as *Epp.* 98–101. In the commentary I have made several suggestions for the improvement of Kayser's text.

The commentary includes close discussion of problematic passages as well as selective general background. Though the independently transmitted letters are our main concern, there is also some treatment of the letters in Philostratus' *Vita* and of Philostratus' use of letters available to him. The *Vita* and the independently transmitted letters generally complement and shed light on each other, but occasionally the latter provide additional information or information that is at variance with the *Vita*. (The version of the independently transmitted letters may at times be more trustworthy; see my comments to *Epp.* 10 and 24). Problematic addressees and persons mentioned in the *Letters* are fully discussed; in this area the groundwork has been well laid by previous scholars, though the appropriateness of "Gordius" (a Tyanean acquaintance of Apollonius and the addressee of *Ep.* 46) as a Cappadocian name should be noted. I subjoin here, *exempli gratia*, summaries of some items in the commentary:

Ep. 1. All nineteen letters to Euphrates are broadly reviewed. The favorable view of this Stoic philosopher in the younger Pliny and in Epictetus contrasts sharply with his denunciation in the *Letters* and in the *Vita Apol.* It is suggested that Philostratus deliberately refrained from quoting any letters to Euphrates in the *Vita Apol.* so that his idealized portrait of Apollonius would not be tarnished by suspicions of *λοιδορία*. (A similar suppression of the details of the Bassus affair is suggested in my comments to *Epp.* 36 and 37.) In his *Vitae Soph.* 488, Philostratus offers a less distorted assessment of the quarrels of Apollonius and Euphrates.

Ep. 9. The meager evidence for the historicity of Apollonius' friendship with Dio of Prusa is reviewed. It is argued that Philostratus insisted on the closeness of that friendship in the *Vita Apol.* to counterbalance the criticism of Dio's rhetoric in Apollonius' letters to him (*Ep.* 9 being an example of such criticism). Philostratus admired Dio and sought in various ways to minimize the conflict between rhetoric and philosophy (which figures in the *Letters*).

Epp. 16, 17. The tradition of Apollonius *μάγος* is examined. The *Letters*, like the *Vita Apol.*, belong to the tradition of Apollonius *φιλόσοφος*, not of Apollonius *μάγος*. Yet in these two letters Apollonius is depicted as accepting the title *μάγος*. This is not exactly "eine positive Stellung zur Magie" (*pace* F. Solmsen, *RE* 20:1 [1941] 141); a passage from Apuleius' *Apologia* alerts us to the correct interpretation of the argumentative twist of these two letters.

Ep. 61. This somewhat obscure utterance seems to emanate from that tradition about the Scythians in which they appear as an idealized race; its sentiment implies criticism of Greek mores.

Ep. 63. *Epp.* 9, 63, and 71 appear to coincide with letters employed by Philostratus in the *Vita Apol.* The commentary closely examines this coincidence in the cases of *Epp.* 9 and 63. Reluctance is displayed in identifying them with the letters available to Philostratus; they could be later forgeries based on the text of the *Vita Apol.*

Ep. 65. The phrase ἐστιάτορες καὶ δαιτυμόνες probably differentiates between priests and worshippers here, though the distinction between the two words seems generally to have been lost in late Greek.

Ep. 67. This letter is very obscure. Kayser's addition of τῆς before Διός is surely an improvement. τὰ σύμβολα in the last sentence must contain a double meaning. It refers primarily to the cult-objects of Artemis; its secondary sense is difficult to specify.

Ep. 73. Bergk's identification of the second sentence of this letter as a lyric or tragic fragment is accepted. It is further suggested that the Doric ἐβαλόμαν of the first sentence may be understood as a quotation from the same lyric or tragic poem.

Ep. 92. From passages of Philostratus' *Vitae Soph.* and Origen's *Contra Celsum* it is argued that there was some association or relationship between Apollonius and the sophist Dionysius of Miletus. The Dionysius to whom *Ep.* 92 is addressed may well be Dionysius of Miletus.

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